DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 174 735 UD 019 677

AUTHOR Buckalew, L. W., Ed.; Wynn, Cordell, Ed.
TITLE Black American Heritage: Contributions to the American Culture.
INSTITUTION Alabama A and M Univ., Normal.
SPONS AGENCY Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Ethnic Heritage Studies Branch.
PUB DATE 78
GRANT G007700658
NOTE 205p.; Not available in paper copy due to the reproduction quality of the original document

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS African Culture; African History; *Black Achievement; Black Culture; Black Education; Black Literature; *Blacks; *Cultural Background; *Cultural Pluralism; *Ethnicity; Human Relations; *Multicultural Education; Psychological Characteristics; Scientists; Social Integration

ABSTRACT

This report provides information concerning various aspects of the black American experience. Six major topic areas are addressed by the various papers presented in this volume. They include: (1) psychological aspects of black ethnicity; (2) sociological considerations of black heritage; (3) cultural contributions of black Americans; (4) the experience of black Americans in science; (5) educational aspects of black ethnicity; and (6) human relations and ethnicity. Each paper includes a list of references and/or resource materials. (EB)

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BLACK AMERICAN HERITAGE:

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE AMERICAN CULTURE

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UD019677

SOUTHERN PRESS, INC.
Huntsville, Alabama
1978

PREFACE

Black Americans, indeed Americans per se, have historically been denied information -- information revealing, integrating, and extolling the significant sacrifices and contributions to this nation's cultural pluralism made by those of black ethnic heritage. Such a situation has precipitated both violent and pacifistic movements to regain and maintain one's ethnic pride and dignity on the part of blacks, and contributed to a continuance of ignornace, both white and black, about Black Americans which often formed the foundation or rationalization for prejudice and fear. As a sincere "come together" philosophy developed, people began to recognize their poverty of knowledge about and subsequent derogation of each other.

Such an effort as this text and the HEW-funded program which was responsible for its compilation and the experiences which it represents, attests to what is hopefully a significant and meaningful effort to shed the shackles of ignornace and intimidation and move towards that time when we can recognize, understand, and appreciate differences between people, the experiences which are involved with and contributed to those differences, and the springs of multi-faceted contributions represented by those differences. To the inherent premise that Black Americans have and continue to contribute in a significant and meaningful way to all that is our nation, the provisions of this manuscript are dedicated.

L. W. Buckalew

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is both fitting and appropriate to make several heartfelt expressions of appreciation. All too often, so few receive credit for the work of so many. We wish to avoid this. First, this text and the program which gave it birth could not have come to fruition without the fiscal and motivational support of the DHEW, Office of Education, Ethnic Heritage Studies Branch. This agency funded all aspects of this project under grant G007700658 (1977-78) - The Black American Experience. The host institution, Alabama A & M University, is also deserving of credit for encouragement, support, and cooperation in program development and operation. Most important of all are the significant human resources drawn upon. Each of the consultants, the written contributions of whom are herein provided, have produced what we feel is of major import to this area of study. Lastly, and certainly not least, is Connie Eddy, the human support system through whom was generated this manuscript, who gave tirelessly and willingly of her time, fingers, and encouragement.

L. W. Buckalew

Cordell Wynn

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The Only Race is the Human Race Which is a Rat Race

L. W. Buckalew

L. W. Buckalew is Assistant Professor of Psychology at Alabama A & M University, where he also serves as Director of the Psychological Research Laboratory. He holds the MS degree in General-Experimental Psychology from the University of Southern Mississippi, and has achieved international recognition for numerous research publications. The author of a text in experimental psychology and an ETV series on applied psychology, Buckalew is a member of national honor societies in both education and psychology.

The topic of this presentation, by reference to a "rat," is one of comfort to psychology. With due consideration of skin color, I would like to deal with what might be called a unilateral race, meaning there is but one. We might refer to it as the "brotherhood of man." I don't see my job as trying to develop, at this point, individual differences. Certainly, we are all aware of individual differences, the more obvious ones being sex, race, and physical size. What I would like to develop is the concept, not of individual uniqueness, but common traits held by all as a virtue of being a human. Later, we can look at differences between races, and I'm sure that other contributors will develop these much more intently than I.

I would like to discuss with you what may be considered the commonalities of human beings. The things that make us true "brothers and sisters" are: the environment and the role that it plays in the development of a person, human development and its costs, achievement and opportunity, and political and social development. Again, I emphasize the fact that we are talking about human beings, per se, without reference to any dichotomous variable. I suspect that if we could recognize and appreciate the fact that we have so many commonalties among us that we are truely one in the same, a great stride would be made towards human relations. It is a statistical and a psychological fact that there are more differences within people than there are between people. These differences within a person constitute the major thrust of our discussion.

Environment is a word that we batter around from time to time--certainly not a new word. But, it has rather specialized meaning when used to apply to individual differences. Let's take a look at where a human being comes from. What are some of the major factors that produce what is called human development? In doing so, environment is one of the two most important, major considerations, the other being heredity.

Historically, it would seem as though psychology has had a running battle between two schools or philosophies. On one hand, one group of psychologists suggests that heredity is the much more important of the two variables in human development. Of course, on the other hand, there is a larger faction of psychology which places its emphasis on environment. To be on the safe side, we might conclude that a person represents a complex interaction of heredity and environment. In effect, this muffles the cries of both camps, heredity and environment.

The word "interaction" would suggest that we will not be arguing as to which would be the most important variable, but rather will be content with an understanding and appreciation that both variables contribute, and in a unique way, to the development of what we know as a human being. It has been said that psychological characteristics, or if you will, personality characteristics, result from a unique combination of these two variables.

Admittedly, genetics or the heredity component accounts for a majority of individual differences in behaviors of animals. As biologists will tell us, the higher we go on the phylogenetic scale, which begins on the level of a single cell ameoba and ultimately ends with the human being, the more important we find environment as compared to heredity. In effect, the lower the organism, the less important the difference between heredity and environment is. And consequently, the higher the organism, the more important environment becomes. One of the major reasons that we tend to hold this opinion in psychology is that when we use the word "environment" in this sense, we are including the process called learning. Indeed, it is psychology's stance that in human beings, or more generally primates, environment is the more important of the two variables as far as contribution to a developing organism.

Generally speaking, in humans we feel that heredity provides a majority of our physical characteristics. Note that I indicated physical characteristics. What we are, then, is a product of biology in a very physical sense. How we are and what we do with what we are given through biology is a product of our environment. This is to say that heredity supplies us with a potential to become, and environment determines the degree to which this hereditary potential is realized. In effect, you could inherit the brain capability of a genius, but as I'm sure we all are aware, if your environment does not support the development of this inherited potential, you will never be realized, to say nothing of maximized.

As you will find later on, there continues to be controversy between a very small faction of scientists and the majority which suggests that heredity is directly and almost totally responsible for the components of a human being. I am referring to not only biological components, but intellectual components. Of course, I am making reference to some material presented by Jensen and Shockley. Most of you are likely aware, in general terms, of their argument that on a biological or genetic basis, blacks are inherently inferior, not just to whites but to all of the races (as though there was such a thing as a seperate race). Without specifically dealing with this particular hypothesis, as it will be dealt with later by other contributors, suffice it to say that psychology's position on this issue is to totally discount the research and generalizations drawn from it.

Again, this brings us back to our original proposition that environment plays a greater role in supporting, contributing to, and maximizing human development than does heredity. To use an analogy, heredity is akin to a pile of bricks at a construction site, and environment would suggest the concept of how these bricks are arranged in some meaningful order, such as a house, or wall, or building of some kind. If indeed the environment proves unconducive to the adaquate or proper facilitative use of these that being human development and the associated costs. What I intend to discuss, in actuality, are general concepts of growth and development which operate regardless of heredity, sex, or the individual. This is, then, human growth and development. The word "development" suggests a process of interaction between the organism and environment. We don't develop in a vacuum. Indeed, the adequacy and the consequences of our development are determined by how capable we are or what opportunities we have to react effectively with our environment. To return to an earlier analogy in discussing interaction between an organism and environment, we might think of the organism as that pile of bricks and the environment being those situations which will determine in large part what form the bricks take as they are being put together.

Psychology views the individual as a functioning whole. Those of you who have been introduced to the discipline of psychology might be familiar with some of our theories. This statement represents a Gestalt viewpoint of the individual. Indeed, to adopt this philosophy precludes looking at pieces of behavior in attempting to draw inferences. It is necessary that we view behavior as a product of the individual organizing all parts of himself and his environment. We also view an individual as an open energy system. This viewpoint represents an introduction to the concept of motivation. The organism is constantly in a state of activity. Indeed, when we are no longer active, by definition, we are dead. Even while we sleep, which is a condition denoting minimal activity, we know that the brain continues to function in a relatively normal manner. Certainly some of our bodily processes continue, though at a reduced rate: digestion, breathing, heartbeat.

Once we accept the premise that an organism or individual is constantly active, then we can view this activity as directed towards an energy balance. To use another analogy, we could consider a situation in which one becomes hungry. Hunger represents an imbalance in our systems and we become aware of our biological state. This situation of having a need provokes activity on the part of the organism. In effect, the activity of the organism is directed towards restoring some balance in the individual. Another premise would be that a person is influenced by, and in turn influences, his environment. Pause for a moment on this premise. To this point, it might appear that humans are victums of their environment and have no control over it. Obviously, this is not so. We are constantly in a situation wherein we act upon our environment and/or our environment acts upon us. In this respect, we interact with environment. Of course, as we are now aware, the degree to which we influence our environment is intricately tied to socioeconomics.

The last premise to be developed relative to this open energy system is that an organism must be considered in the context of culture. Culture extends its influence, in a major way, to the determination of our environment. Concomitantly, how we interact with this culturally determined environment is, in itself, determined by culture. We might refer to culture's influence, in this sense, as modes of adjustment. To go one step further in considering human development, we might introduce another consequential statement reflecting a term stolen from biology--homeostasis. "Homeostasis" means a balanced system or a steady state. This concept of homeostasis provides psychology with the underpinnings of motivation. This is to say that the unbalancing of a steady state, be it biological or psychological, produces motivation to return our balance. When we think of homeostasis, we must include two related but different aspects: the internal and the external. If we focus on internal homeostasis, we really express concern for our biological state and biological needs. If we turn our attention to the external aspects of homeostasis, then we are concentrating on our psychological and social needs.

Psychology's viewpoint is that behavior results from feedback, which is information produced from acting on one's environment. For instance, one's environment of an immediate nature might be a burning building. Feedback from being in that building tells us that this burning produces pain, therefore, we need to act, i. e. becomes motivated, to remove or avoid this painful stimulus, fire. Hence, the behavioral result is that of leaving the environment. In this manner, environment has provided us with knowledge which allows us to react to or act upon that environment. This is the concept of feedback.

It is undeniable that with age comes a broadening of environment. Our environment is much more limited at age two than it is at age thirty-two, presupposing that mother did cut the apron strings. The point to be made is that, as our environment broadens, generally as a function of age, this steady state or homeostasis becomes more difficult to maintain due to the complexity of the environment. It is generally accepted that the larger something is, the more complex it is.

It could be said that human development is acheived through our attempts to organize both ourself and environment. How we go about this organizing or interaction with environment is, as we have seen, largely a product of opportunity, experience, and motivation. Every individual is unique, as each has a different heredity, and by definition, a different environment. Certainly we cannot occupy the exact same space at the same time. Hence, whether we emphasize heredity or environment, the same conclusion must be drawn; that being that every individual is unique unto himself.

Lastly in discussing human development, we need to recognize and appreciate what this mystical thing called "self" actually is. Psychology's viewpoint, simplified, is that self or self concept is our focal point for how we organize, how we integrate, and how we behave. It then becomes very important, in considering human behavior, to appreciate what one's self concept is. The question we might logically ask is, how realistic is one's self concept? However, fortunately in some cases and perhaps unfortunately in others, self concept is not something that is totally resistant to change. Indeed, we each have our own self concept and we each present that concept to others. Needless to say, others either reinforce or punish the self concept we put forward.

It is literally impossible to meaningfully discuss human development and cost without using the term adjustment. After all, have we not been discussing the relationship between an individual and environment? Were we to use a psychological term for the process or the operation of this relationship or interaction, then "adjustment" would be the term used. Adjustment can be defined as an attempt to maintain an individually-determined homeostasis. You and only you know what feels good to you, what hurts you, and what you do and don't need. These are major considerations when considering an individual homeostasis. How we go about meeting our needs is the determining factor in any attempt to classify adjustment. Adjustment, then, is simply a pattern of behavior. We could easily get into some philosophical hangups as to what constitutes "good" or "bad" adjustment or what constitutes "abnormal" or "normal" behavior. We are, at this point, not concerned with value judgments placed on the adjustment process. Our thinking is that even the strangest or most self-defeating form of adjustment is, in actuality, that individual's "best shot" at interacting with their environment.

It should be pointed out that theorists of differing slants would argue that human beings do have certain critical periods in their development. While those adhering to more Freudian philosophies might well argue that early life, such as the pre-school years, is the critical period in development, there are others who take the stance that adolescence is the most critical period. Adolescence is thought to be a very important time in the development of a human because, not only is the developing organism faced with some very fundamental and consequential physical changes, but also is faced with cultural and psychological changes.

Let's look at these two aspects of adolescence. With reference to the biological demands of adolescence, we would find that the emphasis of adjustment is on physiological changes associated with puberty. Certainly, we all remember the dramatic days of our pubescence when 8th grade girls wanted nothing to do with 8th grade boys and 8th grade boys were trying to figure out how in the world to coordinate their own motor behaviors. Fortunately, for most of us at least, we've out grown this. On the other hand, we have the factor of culture in which adjustment emphasis is placed on psychological or social demands for independence, heterosexual and peer relationships, vocational preparations, and ultimately philosophy of life. We draw a picture of adolescence as a critical period because it has far-reaching, and in some respects irresversible, consequences on human development.

To this point, we have discussed heredity, environment, adjustment, motivation, and self concept. For a moment, let us devote attention to just the biological components of a human being in an attempt to draw a logical, undeniable, and unilateral concept of a human being. We all have the same biological needs. The only difference, and of individual nature, is the degree of biological need that we have. The basic biological needs, or as they are called in psychology, physiological drives, include the following: hunger, thrist, sleep, pain avoidance, temperature regulation, and of a more debatable nature, sex and maternal. It could easily be agreed that each one of us possesses some degree of each of these needs.

In effect, this then presents the picture of a uniformity within human beings, regardless of individual differences. One very basic form of "common ground" between individuals is that of biology. Without arguing genetic differences, it may be readily conceited that all of us have all of these needs in differing degrees. Certainly some of us eat more than others. Some of us sleep more than others. Some of us need more mothering than others. And on and on it goes. I have never seen any evidence which would even suggest that one race has any different set of biological needs than any other race. Hence, it must be concluded that biological needs or drives cannot be used to differientiate between races. For any of us, if any one of these biological needs were left unfulfilled for an adequate length of time, the end result would be death. I know of no race which is exempt from death. From a psychological standpoint, in terms of biology, there is no difference between people.

We now turn our attention to personality, and specifically the development of personality. There are a number of important factors that are directly related to personality development. These factors primarily are of an environmental nature, as our position is that personality is not inherited but is learned. Let's look at some of these major environmental influences on personality development. I would include such factors as parental and family relationships, models available in one's environment, family size and composition, sex typing and sex role, and the growth of conscience and moral standards.

Immediately upon considering these variables or factors of personality development, one might rapidly conclude that there are significant racial differences involved. However, as we will find later, these racial differences are contrived of inappropriate, unrepresentative, and unsupportable myths and stereotypes designed to perpetuate prejudice. Consider, for instance, parental and family relationships. As all good bigots know, the black family structure is totally matriarchal, i.e. the absentee father. Of course, this would obviously produce very feminine males and females who have very limited concepts of the male model. This assumption perpetuates or leads to the stereotype of the black male as lazy, unmotivated, lethargic, and opportunistic. After all, his home is simply a place to come to every once in a while, scrape together all the cash he can find, beat his wife and children, dance around a little bit, and proceed to the nearest liquor store.

What about family size and composition? Sterotypically, the black family is seen as much larger than the white. Also, what of the growth of conscience and moral standards? We all know blacks have a defective conscience structure and very poor moral standards. Typically, blacks cannot be trusted, they steal, they are almost inherently criminals, and most do not know right from wrong. Additionally, we have already touched upon the genetic inferiority hypothesis with its implications on intelligence.

Let me at this point reiterate that I am illustrating stereotypes and myths surrounding the mystique that the black represents to the white. The basis for these stereotypes and myths is primarily ignorance. In actuality, with reference to personality development, a case could easily be made that environment plays a major role, and hence has a significant influence on all of these variables associated with personality development. As we have already concluded, environment is built on socioeconomics. Summarily, we could legitimately conclude, based on research, that there is essentially no difference in any of these influences on personality development between blacks and whites within any given socioeconomic class. Hence, personality is not a product of race, but rather of environment and its socioeconomic concomitants.

To this point, we have directed a good deal of our attention to the composition of a human being, irregardless of race, relative to biological, heredity, and personality characteristics. Let us shift attention now to the topic of achievement and opportunity. In reality, these are the two things in our society that make us what we are.

Psychology has defined achievement as a social or learned motive which tends to be rooted in middle class America. Of course, as we know it, achievement is the medium through which we come to recognize the American ethic, i.e. through hard work, anyone can become anything. Of course, as I am sure you are well aware, this is a myth. Obviously, there are numerous other variables of important consequence to what and how we can achieve, and these variables include: socioeconomics, opportunity, race, and sex.

As a motive, and by definition, achievement may involve conflict. Certainly we are well aware of what conflict entails. In this sense, acheivement and the conflicts associated with it may provide significant frustration to the individual. As we attempt to achieve and overcome whatever hereditary, biological, psychological, or economic barriers are placed in our paths, we find it necessary to alter either our goals or our methods. Indeed, when our achievement appears to infringe upon, parallel, replicate, or threaten that of other's, there are barriers placed in our paths. However, and with reverence and reference to Martin Luther King, these barriers can be overcome. However, it must be recognized that achievement, assuming this motive is learned by an individual, is not a god-given or government sanctioned right. Indeed, achievement versus failure is a common conflict in the American culture.

Let us spend a moment looking at the operation of achievement as a motive. These operational steps mirror the principle steps in what is considered to be normal adjustment. First, a motive exists and is recognized by the individual. Secondly, thwarting prevents the immediate satisfaction of the motive. Third, varied responses result, usually as trial and error behavior. Fourth, a solution is reached, though that solution may involve compromise. As an example of these four steps involved in normal adjustment, we might look at the motive of hunger.

We become hungry, hence a motive exists. However, due to geographical or personal circumstances, we are unable to immediately satisfy this hunger motive, and this is thwarting. At this point, the individual has a number of responses available and typically will select one, try it, and if it proves unfruitful, modify or replace it with another potential positive response. Hence, we may go to the nearest store or the nearest restaurant in an attempt to satisfy our hunger motive. However, if our economic condition does not coincide with the satisfaction of this motive, then we might consider another response, one which perhaps may involve either the theft of food, the begging of food, or simply putting off the consumption of food on a temporary basis. Any one of these three potential responses involves compromising our homeostatic condition. Regardless of what response is selected and what behavior ensues, it must be recongized that a person must do his adjustment within a society, and a society is composed of other people who have their own personalities, motives, conflicts and modes of adjustment. Therefore, our attempts to satisfy motives and solve conflicts must insure the sanctity of others.

Another aspect of achievement, so highly valued in our society, is achievement behavior. As a behavior, it must be reinforced adequately to be maintained. Achievement does not operate in a vacuum of reward. As psychology is well aware, behavior that is rewarded tends to persist, while behavior that is not rewarded tends to disappear. As behavior which adheres to the principles of learning, we must appreciate the fact that culture, society, and reward schedules differ due to socioeconomics. It has been said that lower socioeconomic classes do not adequately reward achievement behavior.

In the same light, upper socioeconomic classes tend to perhaps place too much value on achievement, often to the point where it is perceived as overly competitive and threatening to others. Beyond these reward schedules and socioeconomic difference, sociology will readily confirm that there are some cultures which strongly award achievement and other cultures which derogate achievement.

In what might be loosely termed the "American culture," perhaps the single largest achievement is successful adaptation to adult life. In this sense, let us look at some of the major requirements made by the American culture. In our culture, an individual must learn to be reasonably independent and capable of planning with foresight. An individual must be motivated to gain satisfaction from fulfilling roles he or she must play in our society. An individual must have developed skills necessary for the performance of a vocation needed in a society or culture. An individual must have learned to tolerate frustration and anxiety. An individual must have learned to both compete and to cooperate. An individual must be flexible in his or her ability to try new responses as conditions in the environment change. And lastly, an indiviudal needs to have developed a realistic knowledge of oneself, one's capabilities, limitations, needs, fears, and sources of conflict.

In our society, an individual who has learned and developed these skills is said to be well adjusted, though we fail to consider the circumstances surrounding that individual's learning or developing. In all too many cases, Black Americans have additional barriers which they must overcome in order to achieve successful adjustment in the American society.

Our last focus for the development of an individual is that of political and social development. We recognize that a person is a product of a social environment. Social interactions are highly complex in our society, as each person is unique and that uniqueness must be recognized and appreciated. It is within a broad social context that a person comes to the attention of others. This process, called socialization, is one of learning the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors appropriate to a culture. Of course, different societies or different cultures have characteristic patterns. Hence, for an individual to develop adaquately within a culture or a society, the individual must have a valid concept of the characteristic patterns and demands made within that society.

Another thing about cultures or societies is that they tend to resist change. Indeed, the rate of change depends on factors of societies' attitudes toward change, technological developments, and intermingling of people. If change is imposed too rapidly or dramatically on a culture, resistance and hostility often result. Hence, those seeking change are faced with the question of whether to work slowly within the system or quickly outside of the system to facilitate change. Historically, Black Americans elected the former situation at which they worked from generation to generation, all to little avail. The era of the 50's and 60's in our country aptly demonstrated both the need to and results of working outside of the system at a rapid pace to facilitate change. Such a decision on the part of Black Americans was not without its psychological and social consequences. Social approval is another common conflict in American culture. The operation of this conflict can easily be recognized through consideration of the social approval of a status quo situation for Black Americans prior to the 1950s vs. the hostility incurred by the action of Black Americans outside the system as represented in such radical groups as the Klu Klux Klan.

The social development of an individual really amounts to how well an individual adjusts to, or conforms with, standards set by some differentiated majority. The concept of group norms comes intoplay here. Group norms are simply prescribed ways of behaving that are widely shared by members of a group, class, or culture. This conformity is pervasive due to fear of disapproval and an inclination to believe that the group, whatever that might be, is always right. The degree of conformity depends on attraction of the group, perceived consensus within the group, orientation to the group, and one's need to be accepted.

It can easily be argued that social structure is highly important in the operation of the American culture. This social structure is actually a result of individuals being unequal in their ability to satisfy the needs of a group. Additionally, social structure is dictated by the law of supply and demand. Any kind of structure is composed of statuses, each of which has a particular role to play. Statuses provide the basis for division into social classes, socioeconomic differences, occupational differences, social privileges, freedom to deviate, and ability to influence. Members of different social classes also differ in such areas as child rearing practices, dominant motivations, concern with sexual behavior, and concern with attractiveness to others. Hence, when one works toward or becomes a member of a particular social class within the structure of a society, there are important prerequisites and consequences. This cost of human development is well spelled out, with the remaining question as to whether the individual is willing to pay the price. Many individuals are not, asking "is the price worth the sacrifice?"

Summarily then, we have considered a unilateral viewpoint of human development in which interest is vested, not on a racial variable, but rather on environment, human development and associated cost, adjustment, achievement and opportunity, and political and social development, to include acknowledging existing social structure. All of these aspects of human development are shared by members of all races. However, in our discussion of human development, we have additionally stressed the added barriers, frustrations, and impediments, both of a social and economic deriation, which are active relative to Black Americans. Throughout our discussion, considerable emphasis has been placed on environment. The thesis of this discussion has been the differential role of environment and associated opportunities on the successful adjustment and ultimate development of an individual.

As a product of your environment, you might ask yourself four pointed questions. Where have you been? Where are you now? Where are you going? Where do you want to go? Such questions are not likely to be responded to with short answers. Perhaps now, the meaning of "rat race" is more apparent.

The Psychological Dimensions of Prejudice

Gail S. Gibson

Gail S. Gibson is an Assistant Professor of Psychology at Alabama A & M University, and holds the Ph.D. degree in Education and Psychology from George Peabody College. She lends a multi-faceted viewpoint, as she has been employed as a science teacher, school counselor, psychometrist, and a mental health psychologist.

One definition of the word "attitude" is "a negative or postive feeling about someone or something." All attitudes are learned, taught by parents and teachers alike. Prejudice, a negative feeling, is also learned. Let us examine the personality constructs that constitute this attitude of prejudice, the defense mechanisms that maintain it, and how it affects both victims--the prejudiced person and his/her target of resentment.

Prejudice, as an irrational judgment, is not based on fact, but on emotion. Parents, who are the greatest teachers of prejudice, do not, however, consciously teach their children to be bigots.

Psychologists describe the personality of the prejudiced parent as being extremely conventional in their homes. Let's look at some of the characteristics of a prejudiced parent: they buy into the traditional, cherished convictions of society, they are generally very concerned about their social standing in the community, they conform to whatever is in the mainstream, and as they are very rigid, they stiffle emotional expression in their children. They are generally very strict disciplinarians, and are very moralistic.

Some very unfortunate circumstances develop in a child who grows up in this home environment. This child typically fears that his parents are going to reject him. He does not feel deserving of their love and he is constantly afraid they are going to leave him. His life is filled with insecurity and defensiveness. He learns that power dominates human relationships. He does things just because his father said so, not because father knows best. He learns to mistrust his own judgment, and fears the evil in himself. Naturally, he sees himself as evil, as he feels undeserving of his parent's love and acceptance.

Each time we have negative feelings about ourselves (stress, anxiety, pressures of life) that we find uncomfortable, we build defense mechanisms, according to Sigmund Freud, that help us get rid of the discomfort. Projection is one of these defense mechanisms that aids us in this time of need. This defense mechanism also plays a primary role in the development of the prejudiced personality. A projection is when a forbidden trait (something I don't like about myself which causes me to become frustrated or angry) is perceived as coming from someone else. Instead of fearing evil impulses in himself, the child reared in the home environment previously described fears evil impulses in other people--mainly black people. This child learns that he cannot trust other people because he cannot trust himself, another convenient projection. His parents' decisions were always more right than his own. This personality very conveniently creates a scapegoat, and scapesgoats throughout history have been a very convenient target for our own self discontent and frustration.

A second way in which prejudice is learned by individuals is through cultural transmission. These attitudes can be reinforced through teachers, ministers and school superintendents. Young children very rarely question adults. They have a lot of respect for people who are big--psychologically as well as physiologically. So, if society says a group is inferior, then children have no reason to question it. Like a contagious disease, prejudice has affected approximately 80% of Americans according to psychologists.

Prejudice is often perpetuated in our society by what we call "normal prejudiced people". These people in our community are respected and would never tolerate the bigot kind of prejudice. They never step forward or lash out to put down or diminish any prejudice ideas. These normal, respected citizens are the people who really influence children.

Another way in which children learn prejudice is from what are called cognitive factors. This is where a child literally uses his own intelligence and capability to decide that prejudice is in his best interest. He is sent out into the world by respectable parents to compete. His parents want him to be a success and to make them proud of him. So, when he is sent out to compete, the more people he can exclude from the competition, the better off he is. Prejudice pays off economically, sexually and politically to many individuals. Therefore, it is to their advantage and best interest to maintain it.

Another reason psychologists give for prejudice is the fact that occasionally an individual has had a very bad experience with a member of a particular group. He generalizes this experience to include all members of a race or group of people.

Lists of characteristics that tend to predispose people to prejudice have been developed. The prejudiced personality is often called the authoritarian personality. It is felt that the following characteristics predispose an individual to prejudice: 1) worship the strong and despise the weak, 2) strong impulse for cruelty towards others and sometimes towards themselves, 3) incapable of genuine love, 4) rigid, compulsive and punitive, and his ideas indicate it, 5) constantly striving for some kind of social status, 6) experiences difficulty facing negative feelings towards parents or persons in authoritative positions so they project these negative feelings towards their scapegoats, 7) moralistic and religious, and 8) oversimplification of personal relationships--people are either good or bad.

All our lives we have to deal with a tremendous amount of frustration and anxiety. When there is too much frustration for us to handle, our ego relies on defense mechanisms designed to help us cope with the distress. Defense mechanisms are always unrealistic, always irrational, and they always operate on an unconscious level. When we become aware of it, it is no longer a defense mechanism. Many psychologists define mental illness in terms of defense mechanisms. Some would say that the healthy person has fewer defense mechanisms. All of us have defense mechanisms, however, the degree to which we have them determines our normalcy.

Repression, another commonly used defense mechanism, is withdrawal from frustration which allows us to forget events. Events that are painful and out of line with what we want to think or believe, we psychologically repress to the point where they just don't exist at all. Repression has anxiety attached to it, unlike projection. Also, commonly used in the prejudiced personality is the mechanism of rationalization. With rationalization, we think of real good reasons to justify our actions.

The most deadly form of prejudice is the "normal expression of prejudice." This is the ability to tolerate and function in a double standard of social deficiency. It's peculiar to any particular type of personality in America. It does not fit neatly into the authoritarian personality. I am speaking about the normal respected forms of prejudice accepted by society. These "normal" people would dislike the overt prejudice expressed by the bigot. The person never takes an active role in demanding punishment for anyone else who is prejudice, and usually is very passive. They lend encouragement by remaining silent. This prejudice is difficult to deal with because it is not overt, and often leads to a form of institutional racism.

Two researches from UCLA, Doucher and Chain, questioned more than 500 social scientists from various areas and reported that 90% of social psychologists felt segregation was bad psychologically. This was true even where the facilities were equal (not just for the victim but for the person forcing it). Some 83% believed that segregation had very detrimental effects on the so called priviledged group. A large number felt that segregation harms those who enforce it even more than the victims.

As recent as 1940, many social scientists believed that any discussion that had to do with social problems (in terms of morals and human values) should not be handled in the social science areas. Social science, it was thought, was a science, and it was not to deal with morals and human values.

Kenneth Clark, a distinguished psychologist, has described several psychological effects that racism has on both black and white persons. When parents teach their children to become prejudice, he contends, they confront their children with tyring to resolve inherent contradictions of our society. The meanings of our constitution and our biblical teachings become confusing to the child. The black child experiences a very fundamental moral conflict and this moral conflict becomes a very vital part of his personality. The moral consequence to the white child is just as devastating as is the inferior consequence to the black child. "Moral cynicism" develops in the white child. The child develops an attitude where nothing is good and nothing is bad. To resolve this moral conflict, the child develops a morally convenient ideology of his own. He is rationalizing in order to make some sense out of the confusion. He develops his own set of morals and values. This ideology consists of the following attitudes: 1) everyone should look out only for himself, 2) the strong should dominate the weak, 3) get what you can while you can, and 4) the end justifies the means. These manifestations are expressed in our social and interpersonal relationships. We see them in political corruption, manipulation in business, on the football field, delinquency, etc.

Other consequences of prejudice are guilt, anxiety, and a disturbance in our sense of reality. Many persons believe that psychologists have been a part of the problem in race relations. Most psychologists argue today that the concept of abnormal means a deviation from societal norms. "Abnormal" is simply a name given to behavior that is deviate from social expectations. Behavior, therefore, cannot be abnormal as long as society accepts it. As was reported earlier, a study in 1967 concluded that 80% of the American population had some appreciable degree of racial prejudice. Other psychologists argue that the best criteria for determining normality of a behavior is not whether society accepts it but rather whether it fosters the well being of the individual and ultimately of the group. Abnormal behavior, then, should include the catagory of prejudice and discrimination as well as all the other classifications of mental illness.

In 1904, at the St. Louis Worlds Fair, a very unique convention was held in conjunction with the fair. Over 1100 individuals gathered, including 300 so called primitive people from around the world. They all were given tests. The results, (of no surprise) showed that the darker the skin, the lower the I.Q. Test data of this nature was not new, as the first test that was administered to determine the I.Q. of blacks and whites was done in 1890. This study of 500 blacks and 500 whites, based on a test of memorization, showed that blacks tested superior to whites. In 1911, Herbert Miller severely criticized this data and met the environmental issue head on, underlining heavily the need for recognizing social conditions and environmental factors for data involving minority groups.

In 1930, a study of 169 leading white scholars was done to see how many of the social scientists accepted the Mulatto hypothesis. This hypothesis stated that the degree of intelligence increases with the porportion of white blood in blacks. Seventy percent of the respondants felt that the evidence to support the hypothesis was inconclusive. However, the largest group that supported the hypothesis was psychologists. The same study showed that 25% of the psychologists felt that substantial validation did exist to prove the mental inferiority of blacks.

As black psychologists were not existent in the 20s and 30s, black educators were the only ones around to defend their positions. The most vocal critic, Horace Bonn, in 1927 wrote an article in which he called the testing of black children, "a major indoor sport of white psychologists." Shockley and Jensen have brought back to life the movement of scientific racism--a movement which has been led partly by psychologists. This movement attempts to prove that superior people produce superior people, criminals reproduce criminals, and mentally ill reproduce mentally ill.

Intelligence tests were the psychometric measure used to determine mental deficiencies which led to the sterilization of 44,000 persons in the United States by 1945. Edward Thorndike, an outstanding psychologist and designer of tests had said that intelligence was 80% heredity and 20% environment. During this period of time, a sense of helplessness prevailed among blacks who were being taught this in universities. In 1938, Division

6 (a group of black psychology teachers) of the American Teachers' Association was formed to deal with such stances as had been taken that were so demoralizing to blacks. However, between 1920 and 1950, only thirty-two (32) black Ph. D's graduated from American universities with a major in psychology.

There is a great deal of unification among black psychologists today on several issues. A statement has emerged from psychology recently which holds that there are no characteristics or no inherent psychological differences to distinguish races. Much has been done by blacks to enhance self worth and create a positive identity. This new black pride is the greatest spiritual revolution of our time. Unfortunately though, it has been found that there is a direct correlation between black pride and white hatred.

Psychology has come a long way, though it is still a new science and just learning how to talk. Today, unlike ever before, psychology is making a serious and indeed a crucial contribution to the human predicament.

The recognized achievements of many, many blacks, despite rigid racial barriers, indicate that society, by its prejudices, is depriving itself of valuable contributions from many others. America simply cannot afford such a waste of human resources.

The Nature of Reality in America

Douglass T. Tate

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In the American system, nutured by the rugged individualism of frontier society, it is easy to confuse the theory of individual liberty, individual choice, and corporate capitalism. However, the serious student recognizes that a theorectical right is in fact not a right at all if you do not have an equal chance of succeeding in a choice with others who make that choice because they have access to resources that you don't have. I am talking about economic resources that, in fact, have nothing to do with native ability.

An analysis of the American society will reveal a stratified class structure and the vestiges of a cost system. The class structure is usually seen as follows: (1) Lower-lower class, (2) Upper-lower class, (3) Lower-middle class, (4) Middle class, (5) Upper-middle class, (6) Upper class, and (7) Upper-upper class.

While I will not do a complete analysis of each of the classes, it should be clearly understood that these class structures reveal the underlying economic structure of the society. Most social analysts would agree that no society has as many goods and services that the people in the society might wish. Therefore, the society rewards people differentially along a hierarchy in order to get them to perform certain kinds of jobs that are functionally related to the survival of that society.

The initial idea of merit to fulfill certain lucrative jobs in a society sounds great at first. However, as time goes on, the standards are raised in an exclusionary process. The rules are written so that only the children of those on the same vertical plane can meet the qualifications, and they are the ones that have access to the resources to achieve the proper training.

When looking at the American society and the way its structured, one sees a power pyramid. A lot of people make up the base and fewer people represent the top of the pyramid. For example, the average salary in America today is $12,500. In the Southeastern states it is $6,500. The average black income in the Southeastern states is still less than $5,000. On the other hand, how many people make $18,000 or above (maybe 14%)? Moreover, 97% of all jobs that pay $15,000 and above are held by white males. Additionally, 1.6% of the people in this country own 32% of all the wealth, and 11% of this 1.6% own almost 80% of all stocks. This concentration of wealth effectively gives them control of the society. You don't control a society by owning a house and a car; you control a society by owning the manufacturing plant or shares in that manufacturing plant, or government paper, or city and state bonds. Not only wealth accrues to those who receive the largest income but status, prestige, and other entitlements. They support politicians who in turn write laws of tax deferments, capital investment, business expense deductions, and capital appreciation and depreciation. Therefore, these persons and their descendants tend to increase their total holdings of the wealth of the society.

Another equally demanding assessment for a complete understanding of the functioning of the society is that which deals with stereotyping, scapegoating and institutional racism. I think a historical prospective will be most helpful.

When Constantine split the Roman Empire in 323 A.D. and built the Eastern Capital of Constantine on the Bosphorous, the stage was set for the Germanic tribes (Ostrogoths, Visogoths, Vandals, Franks, Anglos and Saxons) to overthrow the Western Roman Empire. This occurred in 453 A.D. Feudalism settled over Europe. Greek learning was lost. There was no contact with the Ottoman Empire and the Byzantine Empire until the Crusades. During the Middle Ages (500-1500 A.D.), Europe was the most backward place in the world. A man of 40 was both rare and old. In the 10th century, Peter the Hermit preached a crusade against the Moslems (the Byzantine Empire). A number of Europeans who went on the crusades found Constantinople a modern city with baths, air-conditioning, spices for food, and advances in medicine and science. The Crusaders discovered there were greater civilizations beyond Turkey in Asia. These civilizations previously mentioned by Marco Polo had been considered fiction.

Plagues were wiping out the populations in Europe along with many wars. The people of Europe who were eating dismally rotten food longed for a change in their situation. They sought trade routes to the east. This indirectly led to the founding of America.

The finding of trade routes led to an expansion of trade in Europe and the international money system. This allowed the Europeans to develop themselves with the resources and situations that evolved out of the new relationships that were called for. Jerome Brunner makes the point in his book, Cognitive Development, that intelligence is the result of interaction with one's environment, and tool using. David McCelland in his book, The Achieving Society, stated that a cotton picker will develop a cotton picker's intelligence. The human mind seems to adapt itself to its environment. This can further be illustrated by taking an American black baby of eight weeks and taking him to the heart of China. He will grow up not only speaking Chinese, but thinking like a Chinese. If you systematically exclude people from participating in a society, the lack of opportunity will create a crippled individual that has nothing to do with innate ability but with opportunity. The backward Germanic tribes of the Middle Ages showed what the role of opportunity plays in the development of a people.

One cannot overlook the role of reward and reinforcement in the shaping of behavior. A person who is rewarded for attempting a performance will more than likely continue to practice the performance. A person who is not rewarded during the process of attempting to learn a difficult new behavior will likely give it up or, if he anticipates that it is not likely that he will be rewarded for trying, he may not even attempt the behavior. H. Mowrer reminds us that any behavior that is punished prior to being rewarded is likely to drop out, even though the behavior may ultimately be more rewarded than punished. Kenneth Spence has pointed out the role of small reinforcement steps toward large goals. He has stated that antedating goals act as reinforcements to achieve larger goals.

Homes where educational goals have figured heavily in the standard of living achieved are able to create environments that reinforce an educational type of achievement. It is also important to understand the role of capitalism in America. The whole capitalistic corporate model is based on the maximization of profit. Profit in the ultimate sense is not tied into a sense of community and it is not tied to the survival of a particular community, state or country. This implies that when it becomes unprofitable in one area to maintain a plant or unit, you close it and move to another community, state or country which will allow you a greater tax incentive to create a greater profit and to increase your share of the world market. The supranational corporation is becoming the business model. You seek to operate in as many countries as you can get into as a hedge against economic collapse in any one country.

Hence, unionism rises to combat the corporation, and government agencies are set up and run by special interest groups seeking their piece of the pie. In such a system of power-blocks, powerless persons are made to feel even less a part of the system.

One of the early assumptions underlying the founding of any political-economic system is the belief in unlimited future growth. This belief undergirths many an American ideational component. Lincoln mirrored such expectation when he said our task is to care for him who shall have borne the brunt of the battle and for his widow. Now military pensions are 11 billion dollars of the national budget and 19.2 billion dollars are used to maintain a veterans administration and hospital system. Franklin D. Roosevelt started the social security administration with the best of intentions, but now the bureaucratic build-up costs 15 million a year to run and the cost is growing. The taxes for social security are growing and you can't pass it on as part of your estate to your children. So the generation gap of the poor is that each one must start over from the bottom. With rising cost, the cost of escaping from the bottom continues to grow and to make it almost impossible.

Growth by government intervention is limited. Growth itself is limited. Much of so-called growth has tremendous prices attached that outweigh the benefits to be reaped. The examples are numerous: strip mining, denuding a virgin forest, plowing up prairie sod, dumping waste into rivers, food additives, and air-pollution by the automobile and hair spray cans.

The reality of America today is, you can never get rich by working. You have to accumulate capital. The capital must then be risked in some investment venture, and then you must be lucky. The average American family has a cash position of $800. People live from check to check. The increasing level of retail debt tells us something significant about the American society. The retail debt is now about 320 billion dollars and growing.

Our premise of government worked well when we had few people and a large number of natural resources. Now, however, with a large population and a steadily diminishing number of natural resources coupled with the rising expectations of the populace and a sense of rising entitlements of the disinherited, we have a growing sense of dissatisfaction with the status quo by a large segment of the population.

Obviously, if you look at the stratification and caste system of the society, it was never expected that a number of blacks or women, or Mexican-Americans, or Indians would come through the system and compete for $15,000 jobs. Yet, these groups make up 62% of the population (women 45%; Blacks 11%; Mexican-American 5%; Native Americans and Orientals 1.5%). All of these persons are now being educated through a massive educational system. Through meritocracy you create pressures, hopes, aspirations, and entitlements that are not there under a system of elitism or divine right.

The economic system, caught in an inflationary spiral as well as technological change, is not equipped to accomodate the new entitlees. Another historical example may be seen in the North Carolina of 1856. The state had no public schools, no welfare system, and no mental health system. After the war, when these things were enacted during the tenure of the Black legislature, persons attacked the legislature for increasing threefold the public debt. Now, however, the electorate has also increased threefold. A rising entitlement had occurred.

Obviously, if you want to keep people from competing in an economic situation, you create both an ideology and a methodology to keep them from doing so. The white male used an ideology to reduce competition from white females. He put her on a pedestal and gave her a queen bee image. This has effectively kept white women out of the competitive market place in large numbers until recently. For the slave, the white male used the methodology of repression, projection, and violence to destroy the natural growth potential of a large group of persons. The image of a child-like, promiscuous, stealing, unrealiable, and lying person effectively destroyed the black as a threat in the marketplace. By 1835, the southern states had a law that if any blacks contribute an invention, his master could take that invention without any rewards being given to the slave. If a slave accumulated pigs, horses, or cows, he could not bring them before his master to purchase his freedom. All incentive for personal achievement behavior was removed.

In institutional racism, we are dealing with systematic exclusion of a group that does not have equal access to the same opportunities for development. Many white persons say, "I have never personally mistreated anyone." However, once a tradition has been established and it becomes institutionalized, (it may also become legalized) the original reason becomes obsolete. In Alabama during 1950, $300 per year was being spent by the state on a black child's education, while $900 per year was being spent on a white child's education. This was justified on the basis that all black children were inferior to all white children. Even an ardent racist scientist as McGurk admits that 28% of blacks exceed the white mean.

An institution practices racism throught its policies and practices. An institution cannot practice racism or discrimination unless other institutions and agencies agree to its actions and support it. Hence, we have a racist society of interlocking agreeing institutions that reflect the mind of the power group in the society.

It is difficult for many whites to understand why some blacks are bitter and hostile. It is because in a thousand ways (the society has become so structured) he is told this is not his country, his state, or his university. But he is included in the taxing for support of these institutions. Under the guise of standards, qualifications, and previous experience, he is continuously excluded.

Intelligence has been proven to be equally distributed in all races. There are no differences in actual capacity. Including "low average," some 91% of all persons are born with normal intelligence or above. There is no significant difference in children up through the first four grades. After grade four, difference develops in reading. Basically, this is a result of environmental factors. The system rewards people deferentially. For example, the band director requires the children to buy their own instruments. Suppose some cannot afford an instrument? Thirty percent of the children in a school get 75% of all the honors. Rewards are not given to the majority of the youth in schools.

In a suburb of Boston, most learning took place outside of the school where youths had money to experience different situations. When they go to school they already have achievements outside the home, whereas others with less achievement outside the home feel unsuccessful.

Another kind of stereotype is that blacks are immoral. Before abortions became legal in this country, most of the statistics attempted to show very low white illegitimate rates and very high black illegitimate rates. They did not show the number of illegitimate abortions. There are three million abortions a year ranging from 50 to 5,000 dollars an abortion. Now, more and more young white girls are beginning to have abortions. In the black society, abortions were looked upon as a last resort. A high percentage of whites adopted these white babies and they did not appear on records as illegitimate children. By regular statistics, they were illegitimate white babies. Because of the economic situation of blacks, there is not an equal demand for black children. The birth certificate records the name of the adopted parents if the adopted parents pay for the hospital expenses.

The stigma of pregnancy has been removed. More unwed mothers are keeping their children. The facts are that now more young people are sexually active. The white lower-class "shot-gun weddings" are popular among these unwed mothers; whereas in the black lower-class, the community does not stigmatize the child, nor force marriage. We have gotten to the point where we believe the idea that all children should be legitimate.

The black female is an over-sexed person, and will jump in bed with everyone--this is a white stereotype that has to be dealt with. Because the white female was placed on a pedestal, the black female's sexuality was played up. When man industrialized his society, he had to dehumanize himself. In that dehumanization process, he gave up something. He's in a circular situation where he denied his own dependency needs and denied his woman's sexuality. He then projected these on to scapegoat-blacks.

Another kind of stereotype is that black people are dirty. Everything costs, and cleanliness is no exception. We have created the ideal of an antiseptic society. This is both a cultural and an economic thing. Decaying environments are harder to keep clean than new environments. Most houses and apartments in the inner-cities have absentee landlords. The property gets totally depreciated and taken off the tax list, but it is still rented. Fifteen percent of the original cost of the building ought to be used for maintenance each year, but in most cases nothing or as little as possible is used for maintenance. People who live in these decaying units pay a higher portion of their income for rent than suburbanites. These blighted areas receive fewer of the city's services such as garbage pickup and litter pickup. We judge people through our value systems and our economic position in the society.

Consider another stereotype--blacks are lazy or blacks will steal. Without transportation, blacks have a problem affording to get to work. Blacks have looked for jobs for years and finally given up. (Myth--that there are enough jobs.) Young folks say old folks 65 years old ought to retire so they can get jobs. So there really aren't enough jobs in a society for everybody who wants a job. To a degree, we have an advancing technology to thank for this. For instance, with the coming of the laser and satellite communication systems, we do not have to use the mail system. Instant communication saves time and energy, but also eliminates a lot of jobs. In the future, we will have fewer and fewer jobs. When one company switches to a new communication system, another company, in order to compete, will have to switch, too. By 1995, to have a job will be a pleasure and priviledge. You must work to be well thought of in this society. Basically, we are going to have to probably change over to some kind of new system gradually in which we could recognize people for their intrinsic worth rather than simply what they are producing. Experience must be looked upon as a natural resource.

The system does not respond the same to every person. Any time that people do not make enough to take care of their needs, regardless of race, and are given the opportunity, they will take them. In fact, in any given year about 15 hundred businesses are stolen out of business by the employees. Every major company in this society has been guilty in court of price fixing in the last ten years.

It is important, in understanding the American society, to recognize that the mafia takes a billion dollars from the American economy every year, and that they corrupt. It is impossible to have a just society under these kinds of conditions. One of the reasons is that people will vote against such things as legalizing drugs. Some people say that they are against legalizing drugs and the mafia is laughing all the way to the bank. The mafia loan the bookmakers money, get the bookmakers in debt, and charge them a high rate of interest so he is working for them, but he's independent. They even love for the police to go bust him because that means they can loan him some more money and charge him a higher amount of interest. What I'm saying is that the idea of stealing as something that is related to particularly black folk is a myth. What you steal is generally related to what you have the opportunity to steal. When we start talking about morality, we find that there aren't really any differences in people, there's only differences in opportunity. One of the most difficult and disastrous things in this society is black on black crime. Not much is stolen in terms of financial worth but it is usually violent. Self-hatred generated by a society which excluded his parents from self-development causes him to take out his fury on hopeless victims like himself. It is a displaced anger that would be dangerous to self-survival should it be vented aginst the white community. It is currently being reported that Louisiana has more young black men in prison than they do in college, but this has not caused the state to re-examine why and institute intervention measures. They prefer to build bigger prisons.

What, then is reality in America now? We have a society that has not demonstrated its ability to absorb the new entitlees and maintain the old ones. Jobs--meaningful, worthwhile jobs--have become harder to find. No ethnic group has a lock on virtue and all of the various ethnic groups have people engaged in vice. No clearly discernable national policy has emerged that seeks to appropriate resources and spread the power of decision among minorities as well as whites. Minorities must, therefore, seek to establish their own national priorities and seek parity of power by purchasing their own economic freedom.

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Nacirema Society: Capitalist and Colonial

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This paper will address itself to an analysis of the nature of the American society, the power tools and main institutions which maintain and support it, and the kinds of changes which are possible and necessary if oppressed people are to be liberated, and, at the same time, achieve a just society for all groups. While it is not the intention of this paper to wage a full-scale critical analysis of all the assumptions and theoretical contentions relative to slavery and racism, it does seem necessary to discuss a few conceptual assertions which are fundamental to any examination of oppressive systems and which serve as a foundation for all subsequent analytical comment.

The first conceptual assertion emerges from the role of Europe in the new world. European entry into the new world created a need for an abundant labor force to develop the mines, forests, and fertile fields to exploit the natural resources of the region. In Africa, Europeans found a people familiar with agriculture and conditioned to the kind of physical work required -- a hard-working people who could turn these vast virgin resources into staggering profits. Black slaves were chosen on the basis of their strength, endurance, and experience in order to satisfy this greed-based economy -- with its unlimited need for unpaid labor and raw materials -- developed by the misfits and outcasts of Europe who had been rejected by their motherlands and thereby sought redress by promulgating the belief in an inherently superior white race, created to rule the world. Whether or not the latter is a rationale to justify the economic and political greed of Europeans, one can assert that the practice of slavery and the superiority complex combination has produced the kind of capitalist-colonial society operating in the United States today with all of its complexities and oppressive components.

A second assertion is derived from the relationship between the politico-economic structure and color. Though slavery was mainly a consequence of economic greed, color (blackness and whiteness) became, both during and after the period of slavery, a significant quality within a political and economic context. Consequently, in the American social order, blacks have been defined as an "under-class," and have, as such, been economically, socially, and politically oppressed by all other segments of the society. Lerone Bennett, Jr. argues that:

> Black people in America are oppressed by all white social groups in America--by capital as well as labor, by white poor as well as the white well-to-do, by white illiterates as well as white intelligentsia. Every white social group has been conditioned to fear in some way or another our liberation.[1]

James Boggs expands Bennett's argument with the contention that:

> After the Negroes were set aside to be systematically exploited, every white immigrant who walked off the gangplank to make his way in America was walking onto the Negroes' backs. The classless society of which Americans are so proud is the society in

> which white workers have been able to climb on the backs of others out of the working-class into the middle-class. This back climbing has only been possible because there has always been a Negro underclass at the bottom of society to take the leavings of the jobs, homes, schools, public buildings, etc., as technological development and economic expansion created better opportunities for whites and made no difference how much education or ability a Negro had compared to a white man.[2]

This situation has persisted throughout American history, and the pattern has undergone no significant change. This fact gives credence to the second assertion that color has been a political and economic stigma and an obstacle to the upward mobility of blacks in the United States. The questions arising at this point are: How has this situation persisted? What power tools operated to maintain such a situation? What kinds of changes are necessary for oppressed people to be liberated?

Historical accounts of slavery accept the idea that "economic necessity rather than racial prejudice dictated the beginning of black slavery in North America."[3] This idea conveys ipso facto that the imported Africans were exploited because of the dictates of the plantation economy for unpaid labor. Blauner suggests that:

> . . . plantation slavery and colonial subjugation were fundamental economic phenomena in that labor exploitation and profit were the overriding purpose of these social arrangements. But there were features in the slavery system and in classical colonialism which were not present in the class relations of western capitalism. These additional realities engendered a dynamic within racial labor systems and the societies in which they were embedded which in times made race relations and white domination considerably more than a matter of class forces and economic motives.[4]

The validity of this statement is evident in the sense that the American society is not only capitalistic but is also colonial, the combination of which produces a peculiar and unique national social order. The truth of Blauner's comments is further substantiated by historical evidence which reveals that loopholes in the economic and political arrangements, justified by the legal arrangements, provided for the escape of poor whites. The fact that Richard Nixon and Harry S. Trumen were poor is significant and sufficient to illustrate this point. Therefore, it is feasible to suggest that political and economic power is bequeathed to whites by whites in the American society. Moreover, the social order provides for the mobility of whites (poor whites and white workers) at the expense of blacks. Therefore, black people have not only been politically dominated and economically exploited, but they have suffered systematic cultural and social repression. The economic decisions and political policies put into operation by the "establishment" were, over the years, predicated on the consideration of blackness and whiteness for the implicit purpose of subordinating and maintaining control over black people, the communities in which they live, and those institutions which attempt to serve them.

Between 1895 and 1921, institutional racism achieved acceptance by a majority of Americans, North and South, as the American way. In the vanguard of this philosophical movement and leading the people astray were their Presidents and the Supreme Court. Racist doctrines throughout the 18th and 19th centuries were grounded in the concern for political and economic progress. Moreover, this preoccupation with progress -- and its resultant exploitation of the dark peoples of Colonial Asia and Africa -- supposedly explained why some nations advanced and achieved high levels of "civilization" and why others did not. This belief represents only one of the many disseminated by European peoples during the colonial expansion which developed convenient rationalizations for the exploitation of the black colonial labor force.

The practice of rationalization had become so widespread and accepted that, by the beginning of the 19th century, the terms "slave" and "Negro" had become interchangeable. The terms, in fact, designated the same position of servitude. In 1819, the South Carolina Supreme Court ruled that "a black was a slave and a slave was black;" the terms thus became legally synonymous.[5] Several states accepted this position, and the law again justified, legalized, and legitimized oppression resulting in political, social, and economic limitations for black people.

Color and race have become significantly influential designations within the social order of the American society to such an extent that their exclusion from a discussion of the politico-economic competition and oppression from a class perspective would render such a discussion a theoretical and practical failure. In addition to illuminating the politico-economic spectrum, the class perspective has provided an understanding of conflict and change in human contemporary society. However, the class perspective variable, like others, is not all-inclusive and must be recognized as such. It tends to ignore the significance and dynamics of other operative social (racial) distinctions which are evident in a colonial society. But it remains important because it is a fundamental and valid concept for the concerns of this paper.

An analysis from the capitalist class perspective suggests that the fundamental cleavage within a capitalist society is that between working and owning classes. Within this context, the capitalism realities of race seem to be illusive and operating as an undercurrent rather than an observable phenomenon. On the other hand, however, the colonial perspective addresses itself to a situation in which one race not only exploits and dominates another race economically and politically, but also attempts to destroy its culture, values, language, history, and virtually all else in the process of dehumanization. It seems important, therefore, that any theoretical conceptual assertions from a black perspective must incorporate certain racial phenomena in attempting to explain racial oppression in a capitalistic-colonial society.

The crucial role of racial phenomena in a capitalistic-colonial society is further illucidated by Fanon in The Wretched of the Earth, and especially in Toward the African Revolution. It becomes clear from his discussion that black people are not fighting merely for more money, or better jobs, or even greater political power. They are, in addition, struggling for their humanity. Therefore, in the process, they have found themselves fighting poor whites who were merely striving for better jobs, more money, and more property. The poor white, would-be-capitalists who have become the capitalists, thus have also become the oppressors of black people. Given the fact that the American society is capitalistic in nature, one of the fundamental mistakes in seeking solutions for ending racial oppression of blacks is to suggest that black and white workers form a coalition to fight their common oppressor.

What seems to be forgotten is the fact that the dominant society also has established colonial relationships with black people and their communities, and although black and white workers struggle essentially against the same force, it is for different reasons, and they also struggle against each other. Moreover, the society responds to these groups differently providing for the escape of the one --white-- and continued control and domination of the other --black.

A Synthesis

The concept of colonialism refers to a system of relationships between the colonizer and the colonized in which the colonizer establishes external control over the territory of the colonized. This control may be operationalized by members of the colonizer's community who are external to the colonized community, or by representatives of the colonizer who are members of the colonized community. Whatever political, economic, and legal status the colonized community enjoys, it is determined by the colonizers, the consequence being subordination and domination of the colonized community. Furthermore, certain institutions and agencies are set up to maintain, control, and subordinate the colonized. Power domination is essential to the understanding of the system of colonization of blacks because it denotes the involuntary nature of their initial entry into the American social order. It further speaks to the impact of power domination on the social organizations and cultural institutions of the colonized. This impact goes beyond the mere process of socialization and acculturation to an attempt at the restraint and destruction of indigenous values so as to create cultural dependency and the social allegiance of the colonized to the colonizer. Institutional racism begins to set in when the superordinate group (the colonizers) establishes cultural cookie-cutter institutions to coerce and brainwash the subordinate group (the colonized).

There is also an essential working-class capitalist relationship which, in essence, describes the two interrelated systems and processes in America. Those who are colonized work (experiencing little or no vertical mobility) on behalf of the colonizer who is also the capitalist. The major thrust is that the mode of production in the colonized community is the exploitation of the working people in industries and other enterprises owned by, and operated for, the profit motives and social well-being of capitalists. The process of colonization, like that of criminalization in the prison system, is essential to colonialism and capitalism. To discontinue the one does not rid society of the other. Both systems and their related processes must be discontinued if oppressed people are to be liberated. A beginning would be to establish a balance between (1) technological, cultural, and power relations, (2) the authority or right to determine political and economic mobility, and (3) the establishment of social practices supporting formal and informal cultural institutions. What must be made clear is that a capitalist-colonial society is characterized by a system of relationships based on political domination, economic exploitation, and cultural repression. The *process* of domination, exploitation, and repression is characterized by brainwashing, coercion, force, and violence. One additional factor which might be kept in mind is that once the arrangements are institutionalized, they stabilize and perpetuate themselves. And although the system was established initially by laws and reinforced by explicit acts, it has now become an autonomous entity propelled by its own internal dynamics.[6] Therefore, it is eventually realized that the law has been rendered unimportant in regard to making or effecting just and equitable changes in society. It has become neutralized as a viable force for bringing about justice.

The individual acts of the colonizers, combined with the institutionalized practices and policies of a capitalist system, breed a situation wherein politici-economic domination gives rise to cultural domination; this in turn reinforces the former.

The subjugation, control, and exploitation of blacks and their community were willed, designed, and constructed to always be an integral part of the institutional infrastructure of the American social order. Therefore, within the context of control, the colonized community is made a target for administration by policemen, politicians, social workers, and other such public service agencies which are forced to justify their very existence and protect their sanctity by establishing parasitical relationships with the community. Moreover, this situation is maintained by every available power tool, even by violence.

Power Tools of the Nacirema Society

One way of understanding the history of a society and how its arrangements (practices and policies) are maintained is to look at the basic concepts which are used to motivate the people and the power tools which undergird that society.

It is important to note the role that oppressed people play in a capitalist-colonial society, and to understand how, by their presence, their behavior, and sometimes by their non-behavior, they have been instrumental in shaping concepts, attitudes, and international and national policies.

The questions at this point are: (1) What are the basic power concepts which undergird the American society -- shaping it, structuring it, and sustaining it as a cohesive whole?; and (2) How has the presence of oppressed people helped to shape these concepts and, indeed, force Americans to re-examine them?

One of the basic power tools which keeps America functioning, and has been its nationalistic bread and butter, is the concept heard during the election campaign of 1968 -- the concept of law and order. From the outset (the beginning of the Republic) Americans have been concerned about the question of law and order. Historically, the question of law and order has been a fundamental power concept. It has been operative, keeping the nation solitary and maintaining oppressive arrangements for many. However, when the concept of law and order is examined along with the manner in which it has traditionally functioned in the American society, and when it is projected against the present -- the activities and the experiences of black people in America -- the question to be raised is whose law and what order? Law and order for whom and to the benefit and well-being of what constituency since it clearly does not serve all Americans?

When Richard Nixon campaigned in 1968 on the plank of law and order (manipulating this American power tool), what was he actually saying? One finds it difficult to believe that Richard Nixon was suggesting that if he were elected president, he would put rapists, murderers, gangsters, and thieves in jail. The fact is that we all are against these forms of behavior. He was not suggesting that he would round up all of the prostitutes and bring politicians who steal large sums of money to trial and incarcerate them (especially with Watergate looming precariously over his head). What Nixon was not only suggesting but promising, along with other law and order politicians, was the continued utilization of irregular and illegitimate enforcement procedures to keep "minorities" harnessed and (black especially) "in their place."

Fundamentally, the concept of law and order is an operative power tool in the American society which means that those in power are going to make the law and others are going to be kept in order. Consequently, they fashion the law in such a way that it provides freedom for them to live and function comfortably, and repression of others in order that those others be kept in "their place." One of the things black people and other oppressed peoples have tried to accomplish is to force America into a basic re-examination of the concept of law and order.

Law without justice is tyranny. No one denies that Hitler had law, and there is little doubt that he kept order; however, in the process he killed sixteen million people. Any wicked tyrant can make laws, but what black people have forced to the forefront is the re-examination of the concept of law and order in order to insist that it now incorporate the concept of justice. The concern here is mainly classic law-breaking, not common criminality.

Mankind has progressed not on the backs of the law and order crowd, but on the backs of the law-breakers; they are the ones who have made man what he is today. If someone had not broken the law, most Americans would be Catholics and/or British subjects. If someone had not broken the law, women would not be able to vote. If someone had not broken the law, many blacks would not be able to sit on park benches in many cities which were built with their parents' taxes and labor. A thirty-three year old country preacher from Jerusalem one day walked into the temple and violated many of the laws; he got a bull-whip and beat a few people then walked out of the temple and broke another law against miscegenation. He drank water with the woman of Samaria and staged the first "drink-in" in recorded history. Finally, someone confronted him with his apparent deviant behavior. "You are breaking the law, preacher." "I know," he replied, and the rest of the response is a classic: "Man was not made for the law, the law was made for man!" Black people in America have forced America, in socratic terms to raise the question -- what must a good man morally do when faced with unjust laws which legalize oppressive arrangements?

A great moment in American history occurred when Henry David Thoreau was faced with an unjust tax law, and he disobeyed the law and was jailed for the violation. While in jail he was visited by his close friend, Ralph Waldo Emerson, who asked in apparent astonishment, "My word Henry, what are you doing in there?" And Thoreau replied, "My work Ralph, what are you doing out there?" Implicit in Thoreau's reply to Emerson if the notion that there are evil times when all good men belong in trouble, and that there are times of change when the just man has no alternative but to break the law in order to bring about a just and good society. Consequently, the reason black people have had to break the law is that they have been victims of legalized injustices. For example, a law is passed to put blacks in slavery, and then they are jailed because they attempt to run away. Let us continue this point one step further. The earlier law of the American Constitution stated that women could not vote. Free black men had three-fifths of a vote. Women could not vote at all; they were the "niggers" then. These were legalized injustices, and until the women of America took to the streets and broke the law, they did not have the right to vote.

The preoccupation with law and order is disturbing at times. For why is it that white Americans are only now acutely "uptight" about law and order? All of those years when blacks and Indians were being killed and their bodies floating in the Mississippi River, and the black bodies were hanging from many trees in the South and the Midwest, very few whites said anything about law and order. In 1954, the Supreme Court ruled that school desegregation was the law of the land, but in 1974 only about twelve to fifteen percent of black children are involved in an integrated education. Whites were not concerned about where black children went to school until the court decreed they should go to school with whites. This is not to suggest that blacks, in 1974, are that concerned about "integrated education," but rather it is to indicate the nature of a racist society and its implicit power to deny rights and control black initiative.

Returning to the questions posed at the outset of this section. one finds that the preceding discussion has necessarily evolved to the following conclusion which responds to that second question -- How has the presence of oppressed people helped to shape these concepts and force Americans to re-examine them? Oppressed black people, in their quest for a just society, have forced America to re-examine its basic tenets of law and order. Max Ways further substantiates that:

> . . . the (black) crisis, by pressing hard upon the longstanding defects of the U. S. communities, can make us understand how much is unnecessarily faulty in American life, white as well as black. The protest has performed the service of awakening us to our society's weakness, and we cannot deal with (black) unrest without remedying social defects that extend far beyond the (black) problem.[7]

When we have a society with justice under the law -- a society that remains fluid and admits itself to the necessity of change -- only then do we have what is called a just and valid society.

The Concept of Violence

Still dealing with the question of the basic power concepts of the American society, attention now turns to the concept of violence. During the time of the riots, initiated by blacks, white Americans grew very concerned about violence in America. Not much concern was demonstrated when blacks were being lynched; their churches were being bombed; their women raped; and their youth shot and killed at South Carolina State, Jackson State, and Southern University. White law enforcement Americans only became concerned when white students were the victims of shootings at Berkeley, Columbia, and Kent State.

During the early sixties when black speakers were invited to speak on white college campuses, the most frequent question asked them by administration representatives before admitting these speakers among the students was, "Are black students going to get violent?" The answer -- more often than not -- was "Yes." But black people got violent not because they were black, but because they were oppressed peoples trying to survive in a system that breeds and employs violence to achieve its ends. In America, violence has been one of the power tools which has been manipulated, and black people have forced America to re-examine it. Let us clarify this notion somewhat. What is being said is that those in America who are in power came to that power through violence, and that they use violence to maintain their position of power. Mayor Daley made this point very clear to the demonstrators in Chicago in the summer of 1968. His position was that if they did not remain non-violent, he would use violence to control them. It seems very difficult for white America to come to grips with this truth; namely, that Rap Brown is right when he says, "Violence is as American as apple pie." Everything white America has was obtained through and is maintained through protective violence. Violence is used here rather broadly to include such practices as trickery, bad-faith trading, shrewd business deals which include dishonesty with the Russians over Alaska, cajolery, etc.

Which Republican conservative would dare suggest that America behaved non-violently toward the Indians or toward the British? Not only was America violent, but she was a theif and a litter bug, stealing the British tea and dumping it into the harbor. Just imagine Paul Revere galloping through moon-lit New England shouting, "The British are coming, the British are coming!" and some white Bircher raising his window saying "Slow down, boy, you are disturbing the peace." What would have happened had Stokely Carmichael gone to the top of the steps of the Capitol in Washington, D.C., in 1966 and lifted his black power fist exclaiming "Give me liberty or give me death!" But Patrick Henry was white, male, protestant, middle-class; when he made such an exclamation, he was regarded as a hero. Stokely, however, would be labeled as a communist, militant, Black Power advocate, and an outside agitator. Somehow, white America cannot come to the understanding that the same search for freedom and liberty which ran rampant within Patrick Henry also runs rampant within Stokely Carmichael and in all oppressed people.

One does not have to stay in the recesses of history to establish this point. The governor of California, Ronald Reagan, was ambitious enough to seek the Republican nomination for the presidency in 1968. The Los Angeles Times presented a profile on him in which the following three issues were discussed: "Governor Reagan, what about Vietnam?" "Turn it into a parking lot," he replied. "What about the seizure of the U.S. ship Pueblo by the North Koreans?" "Give them a month, and if they don't give us our ship back, go in there and kick the devil out of them," he suggested. "What about San Francisco State College and the unrest there?" "Keep the school open even at the point of a boyonet," replied the Governor. His proposition for solving the problems of the nation consisted of: 1) bomb Vietnam off the map, 2) kick the devil out of the Koreans, and 3) keep the school open with guns. Now a black youth in his community who understands the problems of his community, after watching television or reading of the approach Reagan proposed, says, "Thank you, Brother Governor." The end result is that this youth can't wait to grow up to 1) fix his bayonet, 2) turn Sacramento into a parking lot, and 3) kick the devil out of Ronald Reagan.

Black people have tried to force white America to come to grips with the essential moral duplicity inherent in a nation which uses violance to solve its problems and only condemns violence when others resort to it. If you want me to remain non-violent, then don't make me the target of violence and expect me to "turn the other cheek." Lord Action said it almost a century ago; "Power yields only to power; and, even then, not without a struggle." The real question which faces all Americans is how will just and equitable changes be achieved without resorting to violence? Will it be necessary to burn down a library to check out a book? Should it be necessary to hit someone in his head so that he may take his finger out of your eye? Following the riots in Detroit, the Ford Foundation and other billionnaire foundations got together and within a year they had found jobs for 45,000 so-called unemployables, with many involved in on-the-job training. Black people could have gone to Detroit and sung, shouted, cried, prayed, and staged sit-ins for ten years and would not have achieved 45,000 jobs.

White Americans must be forced to culturally examine the function of violence in American history to determine whether or not they will respond to just and equitable change without the need for those seeking change to resort to violence. There is a need for a healthy examination of this power tool, used for years both nationally and internationally to maintain control over oppressed people.

The Concept of Church/School Institutional Brainwashing (Pigeonholing)

The other power tool used in America to maintain control over black people concerns itself with the two major public institutions -- the church and the school. These two institutions have been used as a sort of Xerox machine to produce middle-class, white, male, protestant society as it is. Since these institutions build their programs and doctrine around white middle-class culture and customs, they have tried to impose white culture and customs upon blacks rather than endeavoring to nurture and develop black life and the black point of view.

Traditionally, the college has operated as a cookie-cutter machine designed, not to promote creative, earthshaking thoughts, but to turn out people who were just like mother and father -- replicas of the system --

who were willing to go out into society and fit into their little round hole or their little square notch and keep the image of American society the same. This offering may be sustained by a few short examples. The content of IQ tests and the curriculum of our schools affords us valuable data for analysis.

The school is a white, middle-class, male, protestant, cultural cookie-cutter, designed to cut out more cookies just like those who are in power. The largest standardization group for IQ tests is white middle-class society; consequently, they are permeated with white middle-class sub-values. In 1968, a number of black and chicano youth put together an IQ test which displayed a similar degree of cultural bias as the one in popular use. The test was administered to many members of the graduate faculty of USC, and these learned persons with terminal degrees all did poorly.

Many oppressed youth of "minority" groups do poorly on tests, not because they are inherently intellectually inferior. The cookie-cutter operation is done in psychology, sociology, literature, and anthropology. There is no account of the disruption of the black family or of black culture in the sociology books. The cookie-cutter is now in operation, turning out middle-class white cookies out of chocolate fudge dough.

However, where this operation is most evident is in the way history is taught. An examination of any classic American history text will show the pictures of all the heroes who allegedly put together the Yankee colossus. With few exceptions, the pictures are white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, and male, as though no one else has done anything. There are few, if any, pictures of Jews, Catholics, or Mexicans, and most Indians one sees are the dead ones. There are only two pictures of women -- Betsy Ross with the flag, and the writer of Uncle Tom's Cabin, Harriet Beecher Stowe. If you are black, you are looking for black people because you know that black people came to America with the early Spanish explorers; a black man invented the first pendulum clock; another performed the first open heart surgery; another discovered Washington; and another discovered Chicago. Moreover, black people were in the Revolutionary War, the Civil War, and the War of 1812, and they played significant roles in protecting America in every war in which it was involved.

Beyond all this, Garrett A. Morgan in 1923 invented the traffic light, and in 1916 he invented the gas mask. Another black man, Hyram S. Thomas, invented potato chips, and Agustus Jackson invented ice cream. These facts are presented only to suggest that the traditional American history text inadequately treats, or better said, ignores the role of black people in American society. A typical example would show on page 312 the picture of a few slaves with balls and chains around their legs and the caption which reads: "Happy slaves relax eating watermelon after a day of work."

For the most part, this white middle-class white lie has served its purpose. It is rather sad when 90 percent of college students graduate without knowing the honest history of their own country. So, in the process of attempting to force the college as an institution to meet their cultural needs, black students at the same time have contributed to the education of their white counterparts by demanding that they receive an honest and complete education.

The same thing is true of the church as an institution. The church is another part of the cookie-cutter operation in regard to its policies and practices. If we were to examine the Big Bible -- another classic -- very evident are pictures representing biblical characters. This is also evident in the stained windowpanes whose carved images are of whites, with blond hair, blue eyes, and who are middle-class in appearance.

In the Bible there are pictures of Adam and Eve and John, who wrote the books of Revelation. Now it must be remembered that the history of the Bible occurred between the Nile and the Euphrates, that is to say, in the valley of Mesopotamia. In the New Testament, there are pictures of Jesus who is pictured as being white, middle-class, and with blonde hair, blue eyes, and a Gentile nose. Historians and geographers raise the question as to "How is it that such men are engendered in the Valley of the Nile?" Scholars who have traveled in the Holy Land and Bethlehem will agree that in this latitude, no truly white thoroughbred with blue eyes and blonde hair is produced. In other words, it is impossible for anyone to come out of Bethlehem of Judea looking like Spiro Agnew. The pictures, therefore, illustrate the extent to which the western white man has indulged in self-ingratiation; that is, he has tried to create God in his image. This step, once taken, leads to the other -- making God think like him. The cookie-cutter is now in operation.

The danger of this, of course, is that it becomes a cultural process that spreads throughout the body of the society and influences not only race relations but also international relationships. To illustrate, America views Russia as a devil and would insist that the Russians remove their missles from Cuba but defends the right of the United States to have missiles in Turkey pointing at Moscow. Given this philosophical inconsistency and situation reality, what are the options in terms of substantive change?

The Concept of Change

Social change, as defined by the International Encyclopedia of Social Science, is the significant alteration of social structures (that is, of patterns, social action and interaction, including consequences and manifestations of such structural arrangements embodied in rules of conduct values, cultural products, and symbols). From a black perspective, change must be radical, substantial, and very significant in order for it to be meaningful to the entire black community.

One of the greatest controlling forces is the very appearance of change. Therefore, the power elite and their associates welcome such indications as predictors which serve to enable them to assert or maximize social control. They achieve this by making visible a few blacks who have moved a few steps higher when the masses are still hungry. This upward mobility of a few tempts the black masses into thinking that change is imminent. In this way, the system makes visible the promotion of certain blacks, even some of our leaders, to powerless positions making them ineffective and destroying the viability of the struggle for substantive change. The leaders, in turn, loose all creditability in the struggle and in their community. In the same vein, to make visible to the world the arrest, trial, and release of a few political prisoners gives the appearance of change, when in effect, the masses are still oppressed by the arrangements of the system.

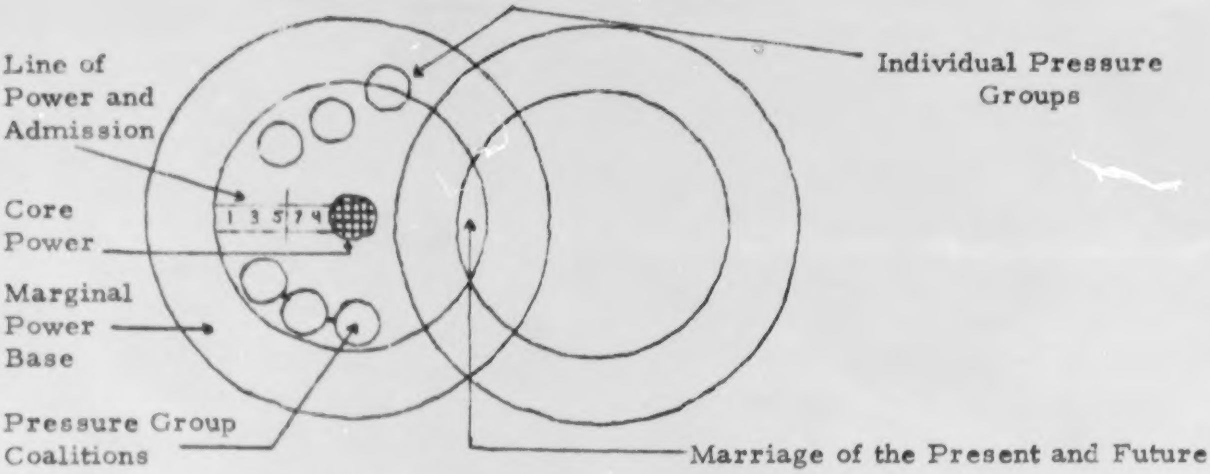
In a society where status is stratified, progress is seen as a continuum and individuals who perceive the society as fluid develop a sense of hope, especially if such a society is arranged so as to make progress gestures (giving those at the bottom of the society some indication of the possibility of vertical mobility). Often the oppressed will develop also a partial sense of identity with those gestures to the extent that they become legitimized, and the arrangements which make the gestures possible are reaffirmed.

Change from the bottom up must have a black viewpoint, for the simple reason that ruthless control and domination by whites have forced the masses of blacks to the status of subproleteriat. Very few blacks have not experienced physical or mental discomfort with regards to the existing arrangements of the social order of America which were established and maintained by whites -- capitalists as well as would-be capitalists. The means and methods were inhuman and the main concern was to establish order with limited power involvement of blacks and their community. Consequently, the struggle has been the relief from oppression; the release from restraint; the avoidance of self-negation; redefinition of self; the opening of new conceptualizations of the Black Experience; and a struggle for power itself. The ultimate goal, however, is change which facilitates the reduction of the liberation struggle with full control of institutions in the community.

Kinds of Changes

I would like to identify, at this point, three kinds of changes, and discuss their potentials for the liberation of oppressed people. Many critics have suggested that the operative concept of law and the legal-political institutions are inadequately responsive to the demands for change made by various groups. Although the operating principle of the society has been "survival is a consequence of the capacity to respond to pressures for change," this paper argues that the American society, though born in revolution and dedicated to economic and technological development, has become sluggish and insensitive to the social reforms dictated by its technologically based society -- slow to perceive and slow to respond to changing conditions.

Some critics have urged patience and renewed dedication to "making the system work through established institutions" and by "accepted" means. They advocate gradual change or gradualism. Change 1 indicates the operation of gradual change. Gradual or marginal change takes place over a long period of time where power shifts from a few persons to a few persons within the same group. Pressure groups may move nearer to the center of


Line of Power and Admission
Core Power
Marginal Power Base
Pressure Group Coalitions
Individual Pressure Groups
Marriage of the Present and Future
1
3
5
7
4

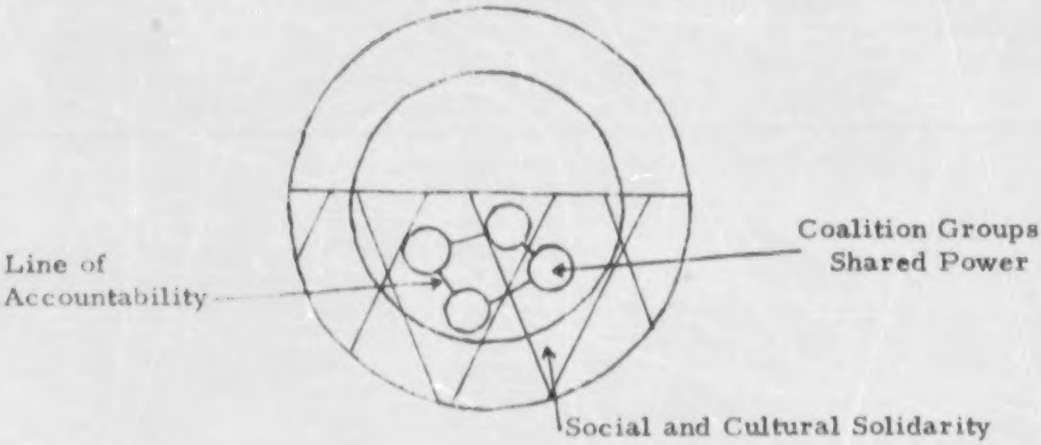
power, but never passing power five (5). However, one or two "representatives of the pressure groups may move to power six or seven, again giving a false sense of accountability and progress. Core power is in the hands of a few whites who will and bequeath their power to a few within their racial group.

Representatives of the oppressed group (pressure group) are promoted to power four or five to create a sense of change. However, the system makes these gestures to sustain its arrangements. Moreover, in the process, mambers of the pressure groups tend to reduce their pressure on the system for change. The outcome is that the pressure groups realize later that their representatives are discredited, in powerless positions, and lose their creditability as representatives because the hope which was vested in their move to power four or five did not translate itself into any real change for those to whom the representatives are accountable. In many instances, these representatives switch their sense of accountability and seek legitimation as participating members of the social order. Once individualism is achieved, these individuals are used by the social order to regulate change, and in other instances, the individuals may become frustrated and seek other avenues of endeavors. Sometimes this is achieved publically and other times privately.

It is not a common practice that the various pressure groups practice coalition protest. What usually happens is that progress gestures are made to members of each group, either by government sources or private sources, and usually to the leadership of the groups. The end result is that competition is waged among the groups (by design) rather than between the oppressed groups and those with core power. The gestures are to distract the groups so that those who control the various arrangements of society (political, legal, educational, economic) may continue to organize their power for continued domination. It is true that certain obvious signs of oppression are removed and certain legal changes are achieved, but this is also intended to give the appearance of change. Over time, the essential character of power remains the same and the social order remains oppressive, oppression taking a different form, but the subjects of the oppression may change to another generation.

Some critics have urged far-reaching structural reforms as a means of streamlining the institutions and their arrangements so as to make them accountable to all people in the society. They advocate a build-up of pressure on the system through the increased use of extralegal but essentially nonviolent methods. These critics, all from the school of gradualism, speak in comprehensive terms. Most changes are small enough to be dismissed as trivial, yet they realize that they may add up to something substantial. They address themselves, therefore, to the numerical and time factors implicit in Change I. They see changes as being incremental and cumulative, thus change consists of many component elements which, over time, amount to a change that is substantial enough to be identified.

Groups that advocate Change II comprise members who advocated confrontation politics, but soon realized that such strategies do not induce change in the basic ideological foundations of the social order. The cultural threat which is imagined is too great for those who control to experience. It becomes acceptable for the groups, in frustration, to withdraw to safe communities where the members of the various groups practice their own brand of social, political, and economic life. In some instances, the groups are assisted financially by their oppressors who make public the terms, basis, and reasons for the aid. This is to induce the compliances of any "deviant" group that seemed difficult. Those groups that see compromise as a form of weakness usually hold out until they realize that their economic resources are not being replenished as they are used. These groups either dissolve or reluctantly join forces with other groups whose future is determined by the oppressor. In such events, these groups have no hope for independence. Political statements are carefully made, and any form of protest is controlled by imagined approval or disapproval of those who exercise economic control over the groups. Even where there are established communities of the oppressed established by the actions of the oppressor without protest, the control of the institutions is influenced by the control of the means of production which are owned by those outside of the community of the oppressed. Whatever power is exercised in these communities is exercised on behalf of the powerful outsiders. The result is that the political and economic orders dominate the social and cultural order of the coalition and the cultural solidarity of the groups. If the strain is not adequately dealt with, leaders of the community find it rather difficult to achieve accountability to members of the community and the temptation is to destroy the coalition because no real progress can be achieved. The hope for shared power with regard to political and economic matters is also destroyed.



Change II is an attempt to break away (culturally, socially, politically) from the original oppressive system of arrangements, yet it stays within the boundary of the system to influence rather than being influenced by it.

The hope, through confrontation, is for a possible breakthrough. The dominant group will tend to exercise control, tolerance, and ultimate power because of the boundary relationship. However, change of this nature does not guarantee nonrepetitive alterations in the established modes of behavior in the former social order. Mere changes in political well-being, in technological advances, or in basic attitudes constitute social motion. Social change occurs when actual behavior changes happen bringing about shifts in interaction patterns of person-to-person, group-to-group, and to group relationships or when new relationships emerge and take hold. Change in social, political, legal, economic, and cultural structures which allows for the freedom and liberation of all is addressed by Change III. Change III offers that possibility. The arrangements to be changed are the political ones which render the oppressed powerless; the economic arrangements which exploit and define conditions which systematically restrict the economic position of those whose labor creates surplus profits for those who own the land, wealth, and technology. The legal arrangements and the educational arrangements must also be changed. The combination of these arrangements is what has come to be referred to as the system or the social order. No other form of change can adequately alter the underclass and marginal working-class status of the oppressed who are dominated and exploited for the benefit of the ruling elite colonizer. Exploitive capitalists perpetuate these exploitive conditions which emerged during the capitalism of slavery. No other attempt has the potential for bringing about the necessary changes. Coalition efforts could be effective here if the working whites had not come to fear the economic and political mobility of blacks.

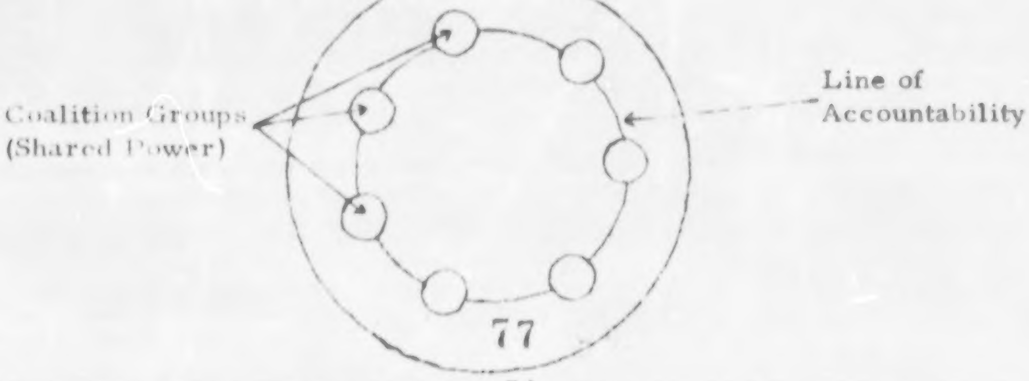
Sidney Wilhelm argues that:

> Some writers attribute the perpetuation of racism directly to the ruling stratum seeking to restrain wages, by instilling in white workers a racial prejudice against Negroes, the latter

> remain vulnerable to brutal exploitation while the former are rendered less competitive because they strive against the slave wages of blacks. In this manner, the ruling elite derives cheap labor from both black and white.[8]

In a complex capitalist-colonial society, the chances of a cohesive, united front against exploitation, racial oppression, and domination are hindered by special secondary interests and intragroup cleavages. Furthermore, the employment of a sense of change reduces progressive activities and undermines collective effort at substantial change. The result is the acceptance of the notion that continuous change will occur through normal channels and orderly procedures. In such a climate, a society as defined above returns to business as usual and the oppressed tend to lose their will to struggle. In such an event, the acceptance of gradual and cumulative changes is assured, and oppression becomes less apparent but more real. Those who once struggled for change become part of their own oppression and develop techniques to neutralize their sense of failure.

Those who advocate Change III realize that the society has prepared to deal with their actions in a military fashion. Therefore, underground efforts characterize the initial action of the advocates. Change III is radical or revolutionary; a complete change with new definitions, new goals, and a different interaction perspective.



Once the conventional arrangements are destroyed, because they have no further usefulness, a new set of arrangements comes to the forefront with power in the hands of the masses operationalized on their behalf by a few. These new arrangements will be defined by and be accountable to the masses of people. Such arrangements must have, however, the ability and capacity to meet the relative and absolute needs of those being served.

The present arrangements allow power to be controlled by a few who have no sense of accountability to the masses. Whether it is the school board, the city council, the political conventions, the police review board, the adult authority, or whatever, power to define and power to make vital long and short-term decisions is still controlled by a few whites who make sure, however, that this power stays within the white family. Furthermore, explicit and implicit in these arrangements is the notion of compliance. Violation of these arrangements constitutes defined sanctions. Therefore, those who advocate Change III realize that there will be bloodshed, for the few must die to save the many. The scope of Change III is capable of effecting significant and substantial alterations for the purpose of the liberation of oppressed people in the American society.

Conclusion

The issue of change requires the commitment of all oppressed peoples. In such a case, the individual must be submerged into the collectiveness of those efforts for substantive change. Since it may be difficult to explain to others the ideology of change, it should be easier and more fruitful to demonstrate change if we put aside our attempts at comprehensive and extensive explanations. Examples through demonstrations are not easily eradicated from the mind. However, change is influenced by an intimate interplay between explanation and demonstration.

The American social order requires change. The process of change, from the alteration of the institutional arrangements to the operation of new arrangements which redefine the social order, necessitates a variety of techniques which will guarantee action among and between those advocating change. However, the objectives must be the qualitative elements which unite the forces, not the techniques employed. Moreover, regardless of the techniques, each oppressed group must maximize the techniques of other such groups to enhance the objective concern of all oppressed people.

The problem of unity, on the basis of objectives when different techniques are employed by different oppressed groups, is the implicit notion that the decided techniques of each group are adequate and appropriate. To struggle over techniques is to facilitate conflict which will enhance continued control by oppressors through financial support for the one or the other. What should be finally kept in mind is that the extent to which one sees oneself as a part of change, to that extent will he resist or assist it. A sense of being a part of change must be the experience of all oppressed people.

Footnotes

[1] Lerone Bennett, Jr., "Clarity and Black Base," Ebony, October, 1971.

[2] James Boggs, Racism and the Class Struggle. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970, pp. 10-11.

[3] Rayford W. Logan, The Negro in the United States. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1951.

[4] Robert Blauner, Marxian Theory and Race Relations, pp. 20.

[5] Bennett, op. cit.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Max Ways, "The Deeper Shame of the Cities," The Negro and the City. New York: Lime-Life Books, 1968, pp. 14, 16.

[8] Sidney Wilhelm, Who Need the Negro. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Co., Inc., 1970, pp. 170.

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[1] A debt of significant appreciation is due Teresa E. Gallon, University of New Mexico, for her major contribution to this work.

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Race: A Biological Viewpoint

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In a day and age when the American dream is being challenged on every side by nations great and small, the major threats to our existence come from within. Like world empires of old, we well may become prey to an endogenous force that will result in self annihilation. The demise will not come at the hands of some great cataclysmic force which will reduce America to zero population in a single stroke, but rather we will fall prey to an insidious carcinogenic power that will stealthily destroy the American way of life, while we watch it in a listless stupor. The force to which I refer is the emotional debate on the efficacy of human equality.

Lerner and Libby (1976) cite Dobzhansky in trying to delimit the problem of racism here in America:

> It is often alleged, even by some reputable scientists, that biology has demonstrated that people are born unequal. This is sheer confusion--biology has proven nothing of the sort. Indeed, every person is biologically, genetically, and therefore irrevocably different from every other. However, genetic diversity is not tantamount to inequality. And vice versa--equality of opportunity, or of status, or economic equality are not predicated either on genetic identity or on genetic diversity. Monozygotic twins, though genetically similar, may engage in different occupations and achieve unequal socioeconomic

> status. Human equality or inequality are not biological phenomena but sociological designs; genetic diversity is a biological reality. Equality before the law, political equality, or equality of opportunity, stem not from religions, ethical, or philosophical wisdom or unwisdom.

Lerner and Libby also present a concise history of the development of the race problem. They state that the history of the various concepts about race is exceedingly old and rich with ugly detail. No attempt to give a systematic outline is made here, and only a selection of illustrative points is presented. Much of the material in this section comes from the historian of the subject, T. Gossett.

Xenophobia and race prejudice can be traced in India perhaps to five millenia before our day; in China, to the pre-Christian era; and in the Western world, to the Biblical tradition of the Hebrews as the Chosen People. According to Talmudic legend, the three sons of Noah--Shem, Ham, and Japhet--gave rise respectively to the Semitic people, the dark-skinned races, and the other gentiles. The Hamites were considered inferior because of the curse laid on their founder for being disrespectful to his drunken father, according to the book of Genesis, and for a variety of other crimes related in supplementary legends.

In Greek mythology, the origin of differences between black and white populations is laid to Phaethon, the son of Helios. Unable to control the sun chariot, which his fath[illegible]ermitted him to drive once, he drove too close to some parts of the earth, [illegible]urning the people there black, and too far away from other parts, causin[illegible] people of those regions to pale from the cold.

Most of the Greek philosophers attributed the differences between populations to climate.

It was in 1684 that the French physician Francois Bernier proposed in an article in a Paris journal that humanity is divided by appearance into four groups: Europeans, Far Easterners, "The Black," and Lapps. The great German philosopher and mathematician Leibniz in 1737 objected to the notion, likening the differences between the races to those between plants or between animals, and attributed them to the effects of climate, as the Greeks did. Nevertheless, Bernier's proposal was soon established in the mainstream of science and philosophy. Although Linnaeus (whose classification was consistent with his notions of special creation) thought that all humanity was a single species, he recognized four subspecies, H. s. europaeus, H. s. asiaticus, H. s. afer, and H. s. americanus. The debate on causes of differences and the scale of superiority of one race over another had some religious overtones in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but it was particularly the rise of colonialism and of Social Darwinism that caused the spread of racism in Europe, and in America it was the need for justifying the enslavement of blacks and the genocide of native Americans that led to the doctrine of white supremacy.

In Europe the cult of Aryanism, arising from Sanskrit legends about blond conquerors of darker-skinned inhabitants of India and Persia, spread and established itself, eventually culminating in the atrocities of Hilter. Even Galton believed in Nordic superiority (just as, in America, Jefferson and, for most of his life, Lincoln, held the assumption of Negro inferiority).

There are still pockets of resistance, as demonstrated by acrid exchanges that appear in the pages of such journals as Science. But the general changes in attitudes expressed by both biologists and intellectuals in other fields within a relatively short period of time are indeed remarkable. Whether the nonintellectual population of both the South and the North is prepared to follow intellectual leadership in these matters is, unfortunately, a moot point.

In order to set the parameters for our discussion, I would like to establish three objectives. These are:

1. To help you recognize and promote the interdependent and interpersonal relationships between ethnic groups needed for the enrichment of life, personal growth and social progress.
2. Recognize the origin, nature and need for the common cultural, and racial and ethnic stereotypes.
3. Promote knowledge of the anthropological history of Afro-Americans.

Why do we have races? I feel that for many people this is a crutch to perpetrate an evil system. Man has needs. We have all kinds of needs. However, one cannot be successful by stepping on someone else. Mankind loves beauty. The love of beauty has been given to man and man alone. Man can appreciate beauty. One of the things that has come out of the natural process is that it has produced variety. If you want to see anything that is monotonous see something that is all white or all black.

Man in his need to put things together has tried to take things and pigeon hole them. We've got to classify everything in its place. If you've ever lived with someone like that, it's hard. So we have attempted to classify the varieties we've seen in man. We are Homo sapiens. We are classified in sub groups called races. The concept of race is a biological concept. But, it's a concept that has been misconstrued by sociology, anthropology and other disciplines.

Carlton S. Coon (1965) in his book, The Living Races of Man, defines race as a major segment of a species, originally occupying, since the first dispersal of mankind, a large, geographically unified, and distinct region, and touching on the territories of other races only by relatively narrow corridors. Coon goes on to say that within such a region each race acquired its distinctive genetic attributes--both its visible physical appearances and its invisible biological properties--through the selective forces of all aspects of the environment, including culture. After having become differentiated in this fashion, each race filled out its own space, resisting, because of its superior local adaptation, the encroachment of outsiders with whom it mixed, from time to time, if not continuously along it borders. Now, you notice here that he talks about things that are definitely biological--environment, hereditary and the likes.

The second defintion comes from a book by J. F. Downs and H. K. Bleibtreu (1969) in which they state that a race is a group of people; a type of human being based on culturally selective criteria. The criteria they use here are skin color, form of hair, shape of the nose and lips, the amount and distribution of the hair and the head and body, shape of the eyes and the cephalic index.

Boyd (1968), who is a biologist, defines race as a population which differs significantly from other human populations in regard to the frequency of one or more genes in the gene pool. Boyd studied mainly blood groups in humans.

These are anthropological definitions. The race concept here deals only with man. The biological definition of race can be applied not only to man but to races in any animal kingdom, and we do have races of frogs, snakes, turtles, etc. For a biological definition, we are going to Dr. Dobzhansky, which is set forth in his book "Genetics and the Origin of Species" (1951). He suggests that if you are a biologist you should view race as a Mendelian population of a species which differs in the frequency of one more genetic variants. These genetic variants can be either genes or chromosomal structures. But the idea is that you have some variations, but the differences are not so great that you can't recognize them as all in one group. As we look at man, and it depends on who you use as a reference, there are generally three basic racial groups: Caucaisoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid.

We know without a doubt, whether we have a biblical origin background for it or an evolution ethnic background, that the most primitive civilization of man originated somewhere in Africa. Leaky and others have shown that Africa is the "cradle of civilization". Man has moved from there and there has been some variation. Now what have people done with this concept of race: the sociologists, the psychologists, the anthropologists and biologists? I am afraid that the only real use made of this concept is to perpetrate certain types of sociological groupings.

All one has to do is look at the history of the black man. He is classified in a separate race. In fact, for awhile some tried to say that blacks were a different species: that they didn't belong to Homo sapiens. But, to be a different species you have to have reproduction isolation. In other words, if blacks were a different species, they could consort with and get together with whites or yellows, but there would be reproductive isolation.

Dobzhansky, in his reviewing of Coon's work, has pointed out some of the fallacies that man has perpetrated. Coon has said that one of our predecessors was a being which we call Homo erectus (ape man), one of the first to walk upright. Coon says on 5 to 6 occasions Homo erectus evolved into Homo sapiens and that each time he did this, he evolved into a different race of man. He evolved into Astraloids, Caucasoids, Capoids, Congoids, and Mongoloids. The Caucasoids are supposed to have been the first to cross the barrier, while the Congoids made the transfer last, some 200,000 years later. So therefore, blacks are closer to the ancestral stock.

We have no concrete evidence except fossil evidence (and there's a lot of error in that) that anything has evolved from one species to another. We have no concrete evidence of a super specific evolution. But Coon says it happened six times and that each time we got a different race of man.

Recently, Shockly, Jensen, and others have suggested that since science can't validate skin color, the size of feet, blood groups, or texture of hair of blacks, they would use intelligence. They say that the races can be separated by intelligence. Many attempts have been made in this vein. One of the most objective books on this topic is written by Richardson and Spears, and is entitled "Race and Intelligence, the Fallacies behind the Race IQ Controversy".

It is our contention that a case cannot be developed for intelligence any more than has been done for skin color, but they've also demonstrated many times that the influence of the environment has a tremendous effect on intelligence and studies done on monozygotic twins tend to support this point. Theoretically, the twins have the same basic inheritance, yet when you separate them and rear them in different cultural environments, you can produce very interesting differences.

Intelligence is a polygenic characteristic. We know that there are certain characteristics which are inherited by a simple mendelian scheme. Skin color is a polygenic situation. You have a number of genes (anywhere from 6 to 30 pairs) which may affect the trait. If intelligence were a simple mendelian inherited characteristic, you would get a very definite grouping. If you look at things that are inherited in a genetic pattern, they tend to be grouped in specific categories, but when you look at things that have a cultural affect, you find everybody being affected by it.

The racial problem was so great the United Nations had to get involved. UNESCO came up with a proposal on the biological aspect of race. This suggests that the biological concept stands in open contradiction to the racist theme; that there is such a thing as a race.

In July 1952, UNESCO issued a statement prepared by an international group of geneticists and anthropologists on the nature of race and race differences. Lerner and Libby (1976) have pointed out several things about the UNESCO position. In minor ways, it is now somewhat out of date, partly because of the great deal of new information on differences between populations obtained since then, and partly because of newly acquired understanding of the feedback between biological and cultural evolution. But the principles embodied in the statement are still valid. Listed below are verbatim extracts from the eight major points that were made.

1. Scientists are generally agreed that all men living today belong to a single species, Homo sapiens, and are derived from a common stock, even though there is some dispute as to when and how human groups diverged from this common stock.
2. Some of the physical differences between human groups are due to differences in hereditary constitution and some to differences in the environments in which they have been brought up.
3. National, religious, geographical, linguistic, and cultural groups do not necessarily coincide with racial groups.
4. Broadly speaking, individuals belonging to major groups of mankind are distinguishable by virtue of their physical characteristics, but individual members, or small groups, belonging to different races within the same major group are usually not so distinguishable.

5. Studies within a single race have shown that both innate capacity and environmental opportunity determine the results of tests of intelligence and temperament, though their relative importance is disputed.

6. The scientific material available to us at present does not justify the conclusion that inherited genetic differences are a major factor in producing the differences between the cultures and cultural achievement of different peoples or groups.

7. There is no evidence for the existence of the so-called "pure" races. In regard to race mixture, the evidence points to the fact that human hybridization has been going on for an indefinite but considerable time.

8. We wish to emphasize that equlaity of opportunity and equality in law in no way depend, as ethical principles, upon the assertion that human beings are in fact equal in endowment.

Except in the most restricted biological concept, race is figment of the insecure racist mind. Its only reason for perpetuation is that it enables some people to overcome their inferiority by feeling superior to someone else. What are the problems of the blacks today will become the dilemma of the poor in years to come. The most damnable aspect is that, for too many Americans, being black or being poor are one and the same thing.

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A Brief Chronology and Comments on Pre-Colonial African History

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African history from its genesis to 1800 is far too complex and varied to be attempted, much less "covered" in a presentation such as this. It is, in fact, a subject worthy of extensive time, reading, and research. This paper is, therefore, confined to a few selected dates/events which the writer considers significant. Some of the dates are, of necessity, approximate and may differ from those in previous readings you have consulted. This reflects the state of the arts/sciences of archaeology, anthropology, and history rather than any attempt to distort the facts by the various authors of the publications we read. The bibliography includes excellent sources for those interested in a fairly comprehensive survey of African history.

Chronology

20 million years ago--A hominid, Kenyapithecus Africanus thrived in East Africa.

2 million years ago--Australopithecus, a more advanced hominid than Kenyapithecus lived in Southern and Eastern Africa.

2 million years ago--Homo-habilis, one of the first tool-makers existed. Also, Homo erectus, which utilized the hand axe lived in East Africa.

500,000 years ago--Homo erectus had spread from Africa to Europe and Asia.

50,000 years ago--Regular use of fire began in Africa.

35,000-40,000 years ago--Homo sapiens originated in East Africa.

10,000-15,000 years ago--Cultural and geographic adaptations had produced the forerunners of today's "races."

5,500 B.C.--The Sahara which had once been arable and quite capable of sustaining life began to dry up.

4,500 B.C.--Agriculture was entrenched in the Nile Valley.

3,500 B.C.--The Sahara was almost completely desert. Migrants from the desiccated Sahara continued to flee and merge with the indigenous sub-Saharan population.

Egyptian peasants were producing agricultural surpluses. Egypt became a major world power during this millenium. Egyptian inventions included the calendar, farm tools of stone and metal, and writing.

2,000 B.C.--Crop cultivation was well established in the Western Sudan. Examples of crops cultivated are millet, sorghum, beans, peas, rice, squash, melons, oranges, lemons, limes, and yams. Some believe this may have taken place centuries earlier since there are African words for agricultural tools that go back 8,000 years.

1,000 B.C.--Horse-drawn chariots were being used to cross the Sahara.

A trade complex had evolved lining West Africa with the Middle East and the Mediterranean.

750 B.C.--Egypt was under control of pharaohs from the upper Nile--Kushites (blacks).

500 B.C.--Early African iron industry begun at Meroe.

100 A.D.-400 A.D.--Extensive travel along the uper limits of the East African coast by Alexandrians.

300 A.D.--Christianity introduced in Ethiopia.

500 A.D.--East African trade was monopolized by Persian and Arab seafarers.

700's A.D.--This was an intense period of Arab penetration in North Africa with the intent of converting people to the Islamic religion.

700's - 1700's--Era of the great West African empires:

700-1076 Ghana

1230-1450 Mali

1464-1591 Songhay

700's-1700's - Kanem

These were well established political entities of the feudalistic type. They were located south of the Sahara in the area that now includes modern Ghana and Mali and were headed by monarchs who controlled or annexed vassal states. It is important to say that these rulers/empires retained their Africanisms even as they accepted the technical assistance and advice of Muslim scholars. The fabled city of Timbuktu was located within their boundaries. Note also that the forest states had empires, one of which existed for at least 1,000 years (Kanem).

The exchange of salt from the mines of the Sahara for gold within the realm of the empires was of major importance in the economies of these empires. Such empires were known worldwide due to the presence of Arab travelers and because of pilgrimages to Mecca by the rulers.

1,000 A.D.--Salt from North Africa was exchanged for pepper, gum, kola nuts, leather goods, cotton goods, and other products in sub-Saharan Africa. East African exports at this time included ivory, gold, iron, leopard skins, and slaves. In addition to providing these exports, the black inhabitants of the East African coastal towns were cultivating such crops as rice, millet, sorghum, cucumbers, coconuts, and bananas. This is also believed to be the period when production of the famed bronze sculptures of Ife and Benin began. Some archaeologists originally sought to attribute these sophisticated products to Greek influence. That theory has now been discounted and it is accepted that the celebrated bronzes are the conception and work of indigenous black Africans.

Late 1100's and early 1200's--Churches literally carved out of mountains in the Ethiopian highlands.

1200's-1400's--Construction of Great Zimbabwe--a collection of stone monuments on the central African plains which are thought to have been a royal palace.

Mid 1400's--Beginning of west coast trade between Portugal and West

Africans.

Early 1500's--Portugal began to attempt to develop an empire. Many coastal cities in East Africa were left in ruins and some cities/civilizations in the interior disintegrated politically in the face of Portugese might. The coastal cities were "middlemen" in the export of gold from the interior. Once the gold-producing interior regions became politically unstable, the value of the coastal areas to the Portugese decreased.

Late 1500's--Portugal effected a penetration of the African interior but still could not gain access to the gold sources. Political structures were weakened or destroyed without gaining the Portugese the desired source of the gold supply.

1652--Settlements begun on the South African coast. They were intended to be halfway stations (between Europe and the East) where sailors could stop for water and food. Later, immigration was encouraged and gave rise to the encroachment which led to blacks being pushed from their homelands and, ultimately, the establishment of a socio political entity not unlike that which existed between the American frontiersmen and the original Americans (Indians).

Late 1700's--Although the East African trade still was not exclusively in slaves, French traders stepped up the buying of slaves for France's Eastern colonies. Meanwhile, slavery was big business on the Atlantic side of the African coast, special arrangements having been worked out and special trading forts and other accommodations having been constructed much earlier.

In fact, the bulk of the trade was on the Atlantic side, that of the East coast being relatively inconsequential by comparison.

As already mentioned, European contact with Africa after 1400 developed as a result of seeking new routes to the East to acquire the unusual goods to be had there. Also, Europeans were interested in refilling treasuries which were being depleted by the overseas commerce. In Africa they found, as described earlier, operative, viable societies functioning, in some instances, as states (in the modern-day sense of the term) or, in other instances, as stateless societies where none were greater than others, where the total group made decisions; in other words, true democracies.

There were few absolute monarchs in Africa for monarchs were subject to the dictates of their councils of state. Secret societies as well as family influence were utilized to secure effective social control. Economic sustenance was derived from such occupations as farming, fishing, weaving, leatherwork, blacksmithing, and mining.

This exploration ultimately brought Europe face-to-face with previously mentioned Mali and Songhay as well as cities/civilizations such as that of the Ashanti of the late 1700's which covered more than 150,000 square miles and had a population of three to five million.

Benin is another example. To paraphrase July,

> during its sixteenth century apogee, Benin City was a stronghold twenty-five miles in circumference, protected by walls and natural defenses, containing an elaborate royal palace and neatly laid-out houses with verandas and balustrades, and divided by broad avenues and smaller intersecting streets. . . . In this

> prosperous society, the wealthier classes dressed and dined very well. Beef, mutton, chicken, and yams were staples, while the less well off made do with yams, dried fish, beans, and bananas. No beggars existed in Benin, where those unable to keep themselves were normally supported by the king and lesser officials.

There was a tradition of slavery, to be sure, but it was a well-defined system which guaranteed certain rights to slave and master. Some authorities contend that the African system of bondage was not slavery, in fact, but was a kind of serfdom and/or indentured servitude. Examples of the differnt "kinds" of slaves are "special" slaves who could not be sold, persons who sold themselves into slavery to clear debts, and slaves who were captured in war or purchased. These examples are illustrative rather than exhaustive and it was those of the last category who were most often sold to Europeans.

It is highly important, when discussing Africans selling each other, to emphasize that the African continent, like all other continents, was home to people who though seemingly alike in appearance had different lifestyles and that these lifestyles included warfare against each other on occasion.

The notion that all Africans participated willingly in the slave trade is a myth. For instance, the people of Benin practically ignored the trade while the Dahomeans were more or less eager and willing participants. One Gold Coast head of state is said to have resisted the military and diplomatic pressure for seven years. Others resisted for significantly longer periods of time.

Where slavery existed, however, the slavers were able to utilize previously established non-slave trade networks between the coastal people and the people of the interior to their advantage. Also, slavery was legitimized by European interference in local customs. It was not unusual for European traders to marry into a group and thereby influence local acceptance of the trade. European assistance in inter-tribal wars was often granted only after extracting a promise of participation in the trade. Some missionaries became active advocates of the slave trade. Traditional leaders lost some of their power and control over the destinies of their people once the military leaders had access to European firearms. States and nations crumbled as constant chaos, warfare, and slavery became routine.

Davidson describes the installation of the trade in the following manner:

> Little by little slaving settled into a regular system, the coast was divided by Europeans into regions considered good or bad according to their speedy or slow delivery of slaves. This had its profound effect on the course of much African experience. And something else happened at the same time--something that was even more binding and pervasive in its consequences. Men became mere trade goods. Not only that, with the expansion of the 'Great Circuit' enterprise in the seventeenth century, men became the only (his emphasis) trade goods that really mattered. African chiefs found that the sale of their fellow-men was indispensable to any contact or commerce with Europe (emphasis mine). Unless they were willing--and not only willing but active in delivery--the ships went elsewhere. That is how the system was installed.

The number of persons taken captive and exported to the Americas or elsewhere, but particularly the Americas, runs into the millions and the estimates vary. Some count only those who survived the crossing of the Atlantic. Others include those who survived the crossing as well as an estimate of those who died on the marches from villages in the interior and on the coast as well as those who died in the holding areas. More important than the numbers, perhaps, is the long-range effect of this activity on Africa. John Hope Franklin concluded that the inter-tribal hostilities which were heightened or created by the trade and the taking of the most able persons made it impossible for Africa to effectively resist the imperialistic advances of the nineteenth century. He observes that Africa and the rest of the globe were not "worlds apart", technologically speaking, in the fifteenth century. Who knows what might have been had this tragedy not occurred.

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Black American Literary Achievement

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First, I wish to underscore the fact that I do not make any claim that I shall give a comprehensive treatment of the literary achievements of black people in America. Secondly, I wish to emphasize that I shall make every endeavor to talk about the literature with only passing and oblique references to other factors which have been or will be discussed.

"Literature, like any other art form is a clue to the ethos, the very life blood of a people." Therefore, literature by the black American reflects greatly on the spirit of the black man, not unlike the fact that the literature written by an Irishman, a Frenchman, an Italian, or an artist from any other culture reflects greatly on the spirit of that culture. But one cannot escape the observation that the experiences of the black man are unique in that the color of his skin determines to a very great extent his experiences in America and elsewhere in the world, whereas color has no significant effect on the other cultures mentioned. In a larger and more universal sense, literature reflects a great deal on the spirit of man. And it is likewise from black authors that we learn a great deal about man as man.

Richard Wright called the Negro "America's Metaphor." And indeed, we who know the history of black American writing and literature recognize that it too is America's Metaphor, step child, as it were, that has been completely or benignly neglected by the white literary critic or treated only superficially. Often regarded as inferior, as black people themselves have been and unfortunately are still regarded, literature by black Americans has survived and remains viable because many black American authors are also literary critics and have justified the writings of black authors as literature. Left to other critics, literature by black Americans has for the most part been described as "restricted in content and more of a social statement than pure literature."

There are those who hold that black authors do not write "pure literature" because they do not write of the nightingale's song and the beauty of a flower or an urn, or speak of things eternal and supernal in the way that many other authors do. That idea is not true; many black authors have written of these things in various ways. But I must hasten to add that the presence of roaches and rats, the smell of urine and dung, the reality of lynchings and harrassment and other forms of injustice, all have made it necessary for black authors to reflect on these aspects of the life of black people in America. Black literature in America is inextricably linked with the complex racial realities which have surrounded the black writer. With few exceptions, the major literary efforts of the American black writer have stemmed directly or indirectly from the existential facts of life for the black man in "white America." J. Saunders Redding, an eminent literary critic and also a black American, commented in a speech at Alabama A. & M. University in 1969 that black American literature is:

> A literature that combines often in a precarious imbalance the ought and the is, the dream and the reality, the condemnation and the acquittal. There is in this literature, however, an aesthetic yeast that causes the best of it to rise above the emotional and imaginative level of the propagandistic and the pragmatic.

In fact, black literature has always been a literature of necessity. Redding goes on to say that by reason of frustration, "black writers have done one of two things. They have sought a complete indentification with white America, sometimes even to the extent of denying their negroness, or they have tried to scorn such identification."

With this background, then, let us look at black American literature from its very beginnings in American letters. During the prolonged period of slavery, black people were so much preoccupied with the demands of survival and their struggle for freedom and citizenship that much of what was produced was oral literature produced more for their own self-satisfaction than for the white American audience. Herein is found often the very plaintive poetry of the spirituals such as "Sometimes I Feel Like A Motherless Child," "Bye and Bye, I'M Gonna Lay Down Dis Heavy Load," "Keep A-Inchin Along, Lak A Po'Inchworm," "I'm A-Rolling Through An Unfriendly Worl'" and a host of other similar expressions. James Weldon Johnson refers to the composers of the spirituals as "black and unknown bards of long ago." But on the other hand, there were also in this oral tradition bold secular lyrics that told not of sorrows and sad times but spoke humorously and satirically of the life of the times. For example:

> Naught's a Naught, Figger's A
> Figger,
> All for de White man, An'
> None for 'de Nigger.

shows how the black slave carried his irony as far as he could, affording a realistic glimpse of slavery.

A good-humored irreverence of religion is reflected in the words:

> Our father, who art in heaven
> White man owe me 'leven, and
> Pay me seven,
> Thy kingdom come, and they will be done.
> And ef I hadn't tuck that, I
> Wouldn't a got none.

And Frederick Douglas included this lyric in the 1853 publication of My Bondage And My Freedom:

> We raise de wheat,
> Dey gib us de corn:
> We bake the bread,
> Dey gib us de crust;
> We sif de meal,
> Dey gib us de huse;
> We peel de meat,
> Dey gib us de skin;
> And dat's de way
> Dey take us in;
> We skim de pot,
> Dey gib us de liquor,
> And say dat's good enough
> For Nigger.

Likewise, the black man's contempt for the "po'white trash," his tussels with "pattyrollers," and his complaints about short rations and hard masters appear in tough, biting lines.

But while these unknown composers of religious and secular lyrics were telling their stories among themselves, Phyllis Wheatley was telling a very different story to the white world. While these unknown bards were speaking of heavy burdens and hard times, Phyllis Wheatley did hear nightingales and receive inspiration from the muses. In "An Hymn to the Morning," she writes:

> Attend my lays, ye ever honour'd nine,
> Assist my labours, and my strains refine;
> In smoothest numbers pour the notes along,
> For bright aurora now demands my song.

The very quality of these lines make suspect the claim that blacks are incapable of artistic excellence. Because the black author depended upon a white audience, the literary work often reflected too credibly the stereotypes born of white presumptions such as the case in Phyllis Wheatley's lines:

> Twas not long since I left my native shore,
> The land of errors and Egyptian gloom:
> Father of mercy! 'Twas thy gracious hand
> Brought me in safety from those dark abodes.

Phyllis Wheatley's poetry was influenced by the verse of Alexander Pope and her strongest and most commonly used form was the heroic couplet. In theme, she was a proper 18th century Bostonian whose central metaphors were religious and whose form was neo-classic. Like Dryden, she could be called an occasional poet treating the death of noble men, public events of importance, and a few paraphrases from the Bible and translations of the classics. Only in a detached way does she allude to her attitude towards slavery as in the following lines from "To the Earl of Dartmouth":

> Should you, my lord, while
>   you pursue my song,
> Wonder from whence my love of
>   Freedom sprung,
> Whence flow these wishes for the
>   common good,
> By feeling hearts alone best under-
>   stood,
> I, young in life, by seeming
>   cruel fate
> Was snatch'd from Afric's
>   fancy'd happy seat
> What pangs excruciating must
>   molest,
> What sorrows labour in my
>   parent's breast?
> That from a father seiz'd his babe
>   beloved
> Such, such my case. And can I
>   then but pray
> Others may never feel tyrannic
>   sway.

Phyllis Wheatley was by no means the only black literary figure of the 1700's, but by far her efforts were superior to the others which included for the most part slave narratives, crude doggerel, and religious rhymes.

The period from 1800 to the end of the Civil War saw the rise of narrative writings about slavery, foremost of which is Frederick Douglass' "Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave Written by Himself." It must be noted that autobiography as a literary form was in its ascendancy during this period, and Frederick Douglass' autobiography is outstanding as an example of how a black writer contributed to the development of this genre. Compare for example the opening lines of the "Life of Frederick Douglass" and "The Autobiography" by Benjamin Franklin.

Most outstanding, however, among the black literary persons of the pre-Civil War period was William Wells Brown, who wrote the first play by a black American, the first travel book, and edited the anti-slavery Harp, a collection of abolitionist songs and poems. The line between the slave narrative and fiction dissolved in Brown. In the first novel written by a black American, Clotel, Brown describes the multifaceted tragedy of the American south. Clotel, or The President's Daughter, exploits the tragic mulatto theme that becomes a recurring subject in American fiction from that time to the present. Be it known that William Wells Brown was the first major black American writer to earn his living as a writer.

The period from 1800 to 1865, like the period preceding it, was principally a time of oral literature dominated by both the folk art of slaves and the more formal rhetoric of abolitionist spokesmen. Slave memoirs, to be sure, were the dominant literary form during this period.

The late 19th century was principally a period of transition in black American literature reflected best in the contrasting views of W. E. B. Dubois and Booker T. Washington. By the late 19th century, enough education and stability had grown within the middle-class to stimulate literary expression, and the poetry of Paul Lawrence Dunbar, the short stories of Charles W. Chestnutt, and the essays and speeches of Dubois and Washington represent major literary achievements. Chiefly it was Dugois who influenced the literary and intellectual achievements of the black American and led the way to the emergence of the "New Negro" who appeared in the literature and art of the 1920's.

Paul Lawrence Dunbar's postion in American letters is just short of tragic. His blackness forced him into the production of verse in dialect while his genius lay in his few outstanding non-dialect poems. His dialect poems made him contemporarily famous and Dunbar, according to J. Saunders Redding, "had to content himself with the condescending praise of his dialect pieces."

Please be reminded, however, that dialect poetry was not peculiar to black authors. James Whitcomb Riley, George Washington Cable, and Joel Chandler Harris, among others, were notable in their use of dialect in literature. Often, Dunbar expressed frustration resulting from the fact that his best works were being neglected, but as Dunbar himself told James Weldon Johnson, dialect was the only way he could get them to listen to him. Even his literary friend and sponsor, William Deans Howell, urged Dunbar to write "of his own race in its own accents of our English." In his poem entitled "The Poet," Dunbar summarizes his own tragedy. In speaking of the poet, he says:

He sang of life serenely sweet,
With now and then, a deeper note.
From some high peak, nigh yet
remote
He voiced the world's absorbing
beat.
He sang of love when earth
was young,
And love itself was in his lays.
But ah, the world, it turned to
praise
A jingle in a broken tongue.

But white America was more interested in "When Malindy Sings," "Little Brown Baby," and "In the Morning," one of Dunbar's most popular pieces:

'Lias! 'Lias! Bless de Lawd!
Don' you know de day's erbroad?
If you don' git up, you scamp,
Dey'll be trouble in dis camp.
T'ink I gwine to let you sleep
W'ile I meks yo' bo' ad and
keep?
Dat's a putty howdy do-
Don' you heyeah me, 'Lias-you?

The problem was not that the black dialect lacked the ability to become serious poetry, but Dunbar's readers refused to give serious consideration to dialect poems. Viewed in its proper perspective, however, much of the dialect poetry of Dunbar is delightful and highly entertaining. Much also has an underlying pathos. Taken as the best expression of Dunbar's literary genius on the other hand, it leaves much to be desired. It intensifies the already deep-seated stereotype of the whimsical, simple, folksy, not-too-bright souls, all of whose problems are tiny ones and whose emotional cares can be solved by the intellectual and spiritual equivalent of a red sucker or some bubble gum.

Dunbar, himself, gave passing testimony to the logic behind this image in the lines:

We wear the mask that grins
and lies,
It hides our cheeks and shades
our eyes, --
This debt we pay to human
guile;
With torn and bleeding hearts
we smile,
And mouth with myriad
subtleties.

Why should the world be
over-wise
In counting all our tears and
sighs?
Nay, let them only see us,
while we wear the mask.

We smile, but O great Christ,
our cries
To Thee from tortured souls arise,
We sing, but oh the clay is
vile
Beneath our feet, and long
the mile;
But let the world dream
otherwise,
We wear the mask!

That white American publishers did much to stifle the best poetry of Dunbar and the literary works of other black Americans is the subject of James Weldon Johnson's "The Negro Author's Dilemma," and is discussed in the preface to "The New Negro" by Alain Locke. Sterling Brown has aptly expressed the precarious postion of Dunbar as a writer. "The wonder is," he said, "that this poet, who died so tragically young and belonged to a generally denied and despised race, should have written so well." Margaret Walker, in her poem written at the centennial celebration of his birth in Dayton, Ohio, in 1972 pays tribute to Dunbar as

A man whose life was like a candle's
flame:
Faint, flickering, and brightened with
the poet's light.
He came to earth a butterfly of time
And lifted in his hands the spirit-dust
Gave to the world chameleon his singing
heart
And sacrificed upon the fame/his
Glowing candle fire of life and love.
. . . .
We hold aloft his laughter
breaking, black,
And bitter songs, and his immortal
name.

A contemporary of Dunbar, Charles W. Chestnutt was a gifted writer of short stories. Of special interest was the decision of his publishers not to reveal his race, which led his audience to consider his works with the objectivity usually reserved for white authors. When the readers finally discovered his race, they had to dispel their assumptions that blacks could not create pure literature.

Born in Cleveland in 1858, Chestnutt was a self-taught lawyer whose literary career began modestly with a few sketches and stories printed in newspapers and periodicals. In 1887, the Atlantic Monthly accepted one of his simulated folk-tales, the "Goophered Grapevine," and within the year, "Po' Sandy" received national attention. By studying the traditions and superstitions of the people that he taught, he wove this material into the ingredients for his best short stories. The "Goophered Grapevine" is a transitional work in the sense that it broke the color line in American fiction and set the tone and form for a series of seven collected tales that, as a group, transformed the folktale into a genre capable of realistically merging that bestiality of slavery with the multiform humanity of those who survived. What Chestnutt attempted was to dispel the image of the child-like, shuffling, lounging, singing blacks found in the works of Thomas Nelson Page and Joel Chandler Harris.

In 1899, Chestnutt published The Conjure Woman which brought together a series of his short stories and in the same year another volume, "The Wife of his Youth and Other Stories of the Color Line." Significant also is the fact that Chestnutt authored several novels that, though competently written, did not measure up to his short stories. It is most noteworthy that in 1928, four years before his death, Chestnutt was awarded the Spingarn medal for his " pioneer work as a literary artist depicting the life and struggle of the Americans of Negro descent."

Both Dunbar and Chestnutt often used the same subject matter in their stories, though their styles and attitude differed radically. They both reached a larger general reading audience than any of the black writers who came before them. The period of the slave narratives had passed. Yet, the black writer was still an oddity and a stepchild in the eyes of most literary critics.

The period from 1900 to 1920 in black literary achievement is important in that the black political voices that came on the horizon sowed the seeds of an awakening that was to flourish during the 1920's in the Harlem Renaissance. This period (1900-1920) ushered in a black political controversy that reached its epitome in two diverse attitudes regarding the position of blacks in America in the philosophies of the already well-known Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Dubois. This controversy was succintly summed up many years later (1967) in the words of this poem by Dudley Randall, a comtemporary black poet.

Booker T. and W. E. B.
(1967)

"It seems to me," said Booker T.,
"It shows a mighty lot of cheek
To study chemistry and Greek,
When Mister Charlie needs a hand
To hoe the cotton on his land,
And when Miss Ann looks for a cook,
Why stick your nose inside a
book?"

"I don't agree," said W. E. B.,
"If I should have the drive to seek
Knowledge of chemistry or Greek,
I'll do it. Charles and Miss can look
Another place for hand or cook.
Some men rejoice in skill of hands,
And some in cultivating land,
But there are others who maintain
The right to cultivate the brain."

"It seems to me," said Booker T.,
"That all you folks have missed
    the boat
Who shout the right to vote,
And spend vain days and
    sleepless nights
In uproar over civil rights.
Just keep your mouths shut, do
    not grouse,
But work, and save, and buy
    a house."

"I don't agree," said W. E. B.
"For what can property avail
If Dignity and Justice fail.
Unless you help to make the
    laws,
They'll steal your house with
    trumped up clause.
A rope's as tight, a fire as hot,
No matter how much cash you've
    got.
Speak soft, and try your little
    plan,
But as for me, I'll me a man."

"It seems to me," said Booker T.

"I don't agree"
Said W. E. B.

Washington, as you recall, became the white man's spokesman for the black man at the turn of the century, and publishers were not interested in the ideas of blacks unless they conformed to Washington's. W. E. B. Dubois, on the other hand, led a group of intellectual, articulate and insurgent blacks in voicing protest. Charles Chestnutt was among those who spoke out. In his _The Souls of Black Folk_, Dubois wrote an essay entitled "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others" in which he was sharply critical of Mr. Washington's conciliatory and compromising attitude. Dubois was among the founders of the NAACP and in 1910 he became editor of the monthly publication, Crisis.

In 1911, Dubois' The Quest of the Silver Fleece, a political novel, brought 20th century scholarly thought into the fictional record of interracial life. Dubois' poetry, short stories, novels and prose did much to foreshadow the themes and concerns that reached their full fruition in the great awakening that was to appear in the 1920's.

It must be emphasized that whatever one's political opinion regarding Washington and his views, it cannot be denied that he weilded a powerful pen, and the beauty of the American language is unsurpassed in his Up from Slavery, an excellent odyssey of the human spirit. Writing as a man just 30 years removed from the most horrifying atrocity known to mankind, Washington spoke with the eloquence and fluency of a prince. The autobiography is comparable in form and style to the archetypal patterns in literature as far back as Saint Augustine.

Another contemporary of Washington and Dubois is James Weldon Johnson, whose Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man was the most important novel of the early 20th century. Known best as a lyricist for popular songs, his "Lift Every Voice and Sing" and "God's Trombones," a collection of seven folk sermons in verse, have established for him a niche in American letters. In 1917, Johnson cried out bitterly that blacks must cease speaking "servile words" and must "stand erect and without fear."

Of Washington, Johnson, and Dubois, only the last two had a great influence on the literary awakening known as the Harlem Renaissance which was marked by its artiness, self-consciousness and experimentation as well as many contradictory aspects. The full flowering of the awakening begins with the publication of Claude McKay's "If We Must Die," a protest poem inspired by the race riots of 1919 expressing a new pride of the black author and pictures the black in uncompromising opposition to the white man. A beautiful sonnet, "If We Must Die" was used by Winston Churchill to end a speech during a battle of world war II.

If we must die, let it not be
like hogs
Hunted and penned in an
inglorious spot,
While round us bark the
mad and hungry dogs,
Making their mock at our
accursed lot.
If we must die, O let us
nobly die,
So that our precious blood
may not be shed
In vain, then even the
monsters we defy
Shall be constrained to honor
us through dead!
O kinsmen! We must meet the
common foe!
Though far outnumbered let
us show us brave,
And for their thousand blows
deal one deathblow!
What though before us
lies the open grave?

Like men we'll face the
Murderous, cowardly pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying by
fighting back!

Joining W. E. B. Dubois and James Weldon Johnson as a guiding influence over the Harlem Literary Renaissance was Alain Locke, who devoted the most time to the interpretation of the "new Negro literary movement" and to Afro-American literature in general. In 1925, he expanded the special Harlem issue of the magazine called Survey Graphic, which he edited, into the anthology The New Negro. This anthology was a milestone and a guide to Afro-American thought, literature and art in the 1920's. His title essay, "The New Negro," is significant in that Mr. Locke not only describes a cultural renaissance, but he is also concerned with the psychological development of the new Negro or Black which will enable him to participate in a larger renaissance taking place in the country as a whole. The keynote of the essay is participation in American civilization and the new Negro is precisely he who will be treated as a man apart. The Negro, for Locke, was no longer bound by the Booker T. Washington school of thought, but the new Negro was intellectual and dynamic.

Mr. Locke's essay was greated with genuine delight by those black Americans who shared Locke's point of view. Some did not. Notably in this category were Marcus Garvey and his followers. But Locke's kind of pride in blackness invigorated the writers to renew the attack on their blighted existence, on their suffering and martyrdom to American life and culture (reminiscent of the attitudes expressed in the spirituals) without timidity, with no apology, and indifferent to the niceties of form or style.

The Harlem Literary Renaissance was studded with many names, but there were four major writers who dominated the literary scene--Claude McKay, already mentioned, Jean Toomer, Langston Hughes, and Countee Cullen.

It is nearly impossible to even name the galaxy of black writers who emerged during and after the Harlem Renaissance. Names such as Walter White, Wallace Thurman, Nella Larsen, Sterling A. Brown, Owen Dodson, and Arna Bontemps among others began to appear more and more on the literary scene. Many writers did not have sponsors and the general American magazines and literary journals appeared to publish black mateial only intermittently, seemingly on a quota basis. The crash of the stock market and the onset of the great depression of the thirties resulted in the establishment of aid to writers by the government under the Federal Writers' Projects throughout the country. Charged with collecting folklore and oral tales of the various sections of the country, the project was chiefly beneficial to white authors, although some blacks participated.

Nevertheless, black literary personnages continued to envolve. During the period from 1930 - 1950, the novel and short story by black Americans blossomed and moved into maturity. Most outstanding during this time were the short stories and novels of Richard Wright, although Ralph Ellison, Zora Neale Hurston, Frank Yerby, Chester Himes, and Ann Petry were also coming into prominence. In 1936, Richard Wright's first short story to receive any appreciable attention, "Big Boy Leaves Home," was published. "The Ethics of Living Jim Crow: An Autobiographical Sketch" was published in 1937, and in 1938 his talent received national attention with the $500 awarded by Story Magazine for his first book, Uncle Tom's Children. In 1940, the phenomenal success of his novel Native Son ushered in a new era of Afro-American literature. For here was a black man who was a much better writer than many of his white contemporaries, and as a short story craftsman, he was the most talented black writer since Charles W. Chestnutt.

The publication of Native Son made Richard Wright a source of controversy, much of which has not yet subsided. For the first time in American letters, the reading audience had to come to grips with murder and violence perpetrated by blacks as what Wright described as the alternative behavior for the dehumanizing lot of the black man in America. Wright further startled his audience by taking as his central figure the stereotyped "nigger," whose crimes against a white girl were vaguely sexual in origin. Critics felt that Wright aggravated the paranoid fantasies of racist extremists. Most critics missed the point that, even maybe unknowingly for Richard Wright, he was describing the hopelessness and despair of modern man.

In 1945, a sequel to his Native Son appeared in another novel entitled Black Boy, which gives some clues as to how Wright himself had overcome problems of racial injustice in America. I would liken his themes and style to the writings of two 19th century Russian novelists, Dostoyesky and Gorky:

the latter in his championing the rights of the persons on the lower depths of humanity, and Dostoyesky in his existentialistic tone in most of his works after 1945. Richard Wright, of course, became an outsider (he also wrote a book by that title) and accepted the invitation of Gertrude Stein to come to Paris where French intellectuals greeted him with a hero's welcome and was made an honorary citizen of France where he died of a heart attack in the winter of 1960. Richard Wright left behind him an excellent repertory of literature which still provokes spirited discussion.

To talk about Wright as a major writer is not to downgrade Ralph Ellison who is called his protege at least in theme and style, or to discredit Frank Yerby, a former professor who became a popular novelist of the 40's and 50's. Maybe it is safe to say that none of the other black men and women who wrote novels during the age of Wright achieved fame comparable to his because of him. He merely overshadowed them.

The late 1950's and early 1960's saw an upsurge in the number and quality of black poets in America. Margaret Walker, Gwendolyn Brooks, Robert Hayden, Mari Evans, Frank Horne, Dudley Randall, and James Baldwin all came into his own during this period, particularly in the works of Chester Himes, Lorraine Hansberry, and Leroi Jones.

Margaret Walker's "We Have Been Believers" and "For My People" were printed as early as 1942 and according to Stephen Vincent Benet, are "full of the rain and the sun that fall upon the faces and shoulders of her people, full of the better questioning and the answers not yet found, the pride and the disillusion and the reality." Of course, her triumph came with the publication of her spiritual autobiography Jubilee in 1966. Quite appropriate to the season of the year is "October Journey". Notice even among the beauties of nature the black poet is aware of the stagnation and fear facing blacks in America and especailly the South. This poem was written in 1949, but 28 years later, things are not that radically different.

Gwendolyn Brooks is perhaps best known as an excellent delineator of the characters she writes about, whether she is discussing the pool players at the golden shovel in "We Real Cool," the ladies of the Ladies Betterment League in "The Lovers of the Poor," The Weaponed Woman, The Old Tennis Player, Big Bessie, Old People, The Sick Man, The Garbageman," or Spaulding and Francois from "A Catch of Sky Fish." Her keen observations on human nature and the human condition, her emotional objectivity, her wry satire, her descriptions of the horror of the black experience in America, attest to her poetic excellence. Her poems illuminating the tragedy of ghetto life are perhaps summarized in the words:

> We real cool. We
> Left school. We
>
> Lurk late. We
> Strike straight. We
>
> Sing sin. We
> Thin gin. We
>
> Jazz June. We
> Die soon.

Robert Hayden is an intellectual poet of considerable note who has been a moderate voice on the American scene in such poems as "Middle Passage," "Runagate, Runagate" and "A Ballad of Rembrance." Hayden, according to James A. Emanuel in The Dark Symphony, "authentically records his direct observations as well as his responses to the history and folklore of his race." Deeply sensitive to racial oppression, Hayden has rejected the label as "Negro poet". Of the Bahai religious persuasion, much of his poetry has extolled the virtues of the prophets of that faith. Recently Poet in Residence at the University of Michigan, for many years Hayden taught and wrote at Fisk University in Nashville, and at least once in my memory appeared on the platform at Alabama A. & M. Univeristy, at a writer's conference.

Dudley Randall and Mari Evans best fit into the mold of the early 1960's when the voice of black protest becomes dominant. Basically expressing a sense of negritude and pride, they sometimes overtly express protest while at other times they are content to disguise their anger and protest. Already referred to previously, Dudley Randall spans about 40 years from his early works in the 30's to the present. His identification with the black movement of the 60's may be seen in the "Ballad of Birmingham" (on the bombing of a church in Birmingham in 1963).

Mari Evans' poetry blends modernity of style with traditional and racial matter. Spare in form, restrained and whimsical in tone, and characterized by few punctuation marks, capital letters, or rhyming words, her poetry contains a sardonic humor that cuts to the core of the racial problem of the 1960's." "The Alarm Clock," for example, published in 1966, turns a moment of dreamy lunch counter dalliance into a jarring reminder of enveloping prejudice.

When Richard Wright died in Paris in 1960, a new generation of black writers, partly influenced by him, was beginning to explore, as Ralph Ellison said, "the full range of American Negro humanity." Where Richard Wright dominated the 40's, James Baldwin dominated the 60's, using as his literary milieu the essay, the novel, and the short story. Baldwin, more than any other writer of modern times, has succeeded in restoring the personal essay to its place as a form of creative literature. For years his talent was in incubation in the ghetto of Harlem and was born after he went to Europe to search for his own identity. The book in which the discovery is portrayed is The Fire Next Time.

Baldwin's eloquent, forceful style has given his work its wide recognition. The intricate, convoluted sentences, the musical, sinuous rhythms of his prose, and the oratorical cadences all contribute to a style that is immediately identified with Baldwin. His essays including "Notes of a Native Son," "Nobody Knows My Name" and the previously mentioned "The Fire Next Time" are a permanent and unique contribution to American literature. His short stories and novels are no less compelling than his essays, but it is from his essays that he has achieved most notable recognition.

You will note that I have not dwelt on Black American achievement in drama. This is due, to great extent, to the fact that early Black Americans' drama consciously or otherwise helped to perpetuate the stereotyped image of the black man as the shuffling, simple, lazy, not-too-bright souls that were created by white dramatists. It was Lorraine Hansberry's "A Raisin in the Sun" that ushered in a new era of black drama. As the courts struck down the archaic and discriminating laws one after another, it became much easier for the black dramatist to give the black characters dignity and purpose, and made it easier for Broadway and Hollywood to accept quality black drama. Hansberry's second drama, "The Sign in Sidney Brustein's Window, " never achieved the popularity of "Raisin" and is considered by some to be lacking in dramatic strength. She is significant, nevertheless, because she demonstrated that a good old-fashioned play is worth having around, good people are worth knowing on the stage, and the struggles to live with pride and dignity are worth it.

Leroi Jones, on the other hand, brings to black drama in particular and American drama in general a militancy which it has never known. In his explosive and revolutionary dramas, Leroi Jones has proved to be the most revolutionary dramatist on the American scene. Just as whites formulated their reason for racial superiority, Jones allows blacks the same privilege to create their own theories of race. Jones speaks for all militant blacks who wish to bring about a revolution in America, and his concern is for total liberation as opposed to token integration. "The Slave, " "Dutchman, " "The Toilet, " "Black Mass", "The Baptism," and Jones' other works concern themselves with the inevitability of violence between blacks and whites. He is equally concerned with the emasculation of black men by white men in

America. Thus, the black male protagonist is dominant in his dramas. I must note, however, that Jones has outraged many white theater-goers with his obscenities and abusive language. But in view of the rising black theater audiences, black playwrights are beginning to express their own experiences and feelings to an audience of other blacks. With the advent of the black revolution in drama, the American theater has become aware that anger is a legitimate emotion.

I must hasten to at least acknowledge three of the voices of the 1970's that are becoming more and more inportant--Nikki Giovanni, Alice Walker, and Julia Fields, all of whom are young, gifted, black women who have come into their own as poets. I must say that it is much too soon to know whether their works will have relevancy in years to come, but the immediacy of their themes and content appeal to the young black audience today.

I am sure that, in the course of this presentation, I have not given recognition to some persons that many of you would have chosen. I have, however, tried to speak of the most typical or most unique voices (whichever the case may be) in the long line of illustrious writers from the beginning of American literature. I hope that in some way I have been instrumental in calling your attention to a few from among the many and whet your reading appetites so that you may have a better appreciation of a body of literature that for too long has been benignly neglected.

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The Visual Black Aesthetic

Clifton Pearson

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It is difficult to speak about modern art minus any kind of ethnic overtones. Specifically, to converse about blacks in art, one is confronted with such a variety of situations and conditions it seems the discussion is not about art at all, but about matters that have sociological reference.

I will give, in this brief paper, some of the trends, characteristics, and tendencies that one might utilize in the identification and understanding of works by people of African and American backgrounds. These works may experience a variety of classifications such as Afro-American Art, Pan-African Art, Mainstream Art, and Blackstream Art (Fine, 1973).

During the sixties and seventies, a very strong "Black Pride" movement in America brought up several positive and negative concerns. The movement helped the area of race relations: it gave black people a renewed sense of pride. Blacks in all disciplines underwent a cultural renaissance; blacks in art were no exception. Subsequently, museums and other art agencies initiated exhibitions of works by blacks; museums and galleries which had before that time been difficult to get into (especially for solo exhibits).

It was unfortunate that the curators of these exhibits relatively ignored the characteristics that had established an art area as such. In other words, they selected the works on the basis of the artist's ethnic background, in terms of who did the work, not the work itself. Historically, works of art are classed and assessed in terms of technique and/or content. To divorce such criteria and assess art on the basis of the artist, regardless of subject matter or what the technique, was in error. This tendency was a disservice to black artists and only helped to confuse and belittle their serious efforts.

Frequently asked questions included: What is black art? Is black art anything that a black person does? Is there anything specific about it? How do I know it? Can anyone do it?

Many of the works of the early Afro-American artist went unnoticed. The hands that hoed the fields could make many things useful and beautiful (Dover, 1960). These artists made the most beautiful things they could, and those things are the beginnings of art by American Negroes (Dover, 1960). Many artists worked in techniques and subject matter typical of Europeans. Black images were not popular; black images would not sell. There were no black patrons of the arts. Therefore, the works of Afro-Americans simply mirrored the times; the works had no ethnic identity.

Several decades later, blacks interested in the visual arts gained entry into some of the colleges, universities, and institutes for fine arts. Many were supported by white liberals and some studied abroad. When the "Black

Pride" movement came, several blacks were well established as fine artists and resented being classed into such an ambiguous "black art" category. These mainstreamers (Fine, 1973) were artists trained to control the elements of art, the elements of composition, and the principles of design. Their works were basically typical or innovative studies or gymnastics in exercising these particular knowledges relative to the elements and principles of art. Their concern was in the mastery of technique and in competent and sensitive design rather than sociological references. Subject matter was objective, non-objective, or abstract.

The song "Lift Every Voice and Sing" has very special significance for many black audiences; a significance that would not be realized among other ethnic groups. Thusly, an art work based on this song would be specific to Afro-Americans. The works that show civil rights issues; segregation, integration, and the like put us closer to the kind of work characteristic to Afro-American art. Themes of slavery, the vanishing South, or one's childhood are typical. Other works include black personalities or black genre themes such as a snuff dipper. There are works which are of a religious content; themes and images which show the uniqueness of the black church.

Charles White makes the following statement which seems to typify the art of the aforementioned class:

> I use Negro subject matter because Negroes are closest to me. But I am trying to express a universal feeling through them, a meaning for all men. . . all my life, I've been painting a single painting. This does not mean I am a man without anger--I've had my work in museums where I wasn't

> allowed to see it--but what I pour into my work is the challenge of how beautiful life can be. (Fine, 1973)

Another group of artists, Blackstreamers, are angry. For the Black art movement artists, there is no separation between art and the oppressive conditions of society (Fine, 1973).

The black man's art in America, like his music, cannot be separated from his life. His art has evolved from his life-style and his will to survive. All that he perceives and makes with a medium will have his stamp on it. And for this reason, it may be argued that the art of the twentieth-century black artist is one which shows forms based on the expression of experiences that reflect a realistic portrayal of certain aspects of American life (Atkinson, 1971). "Black", in reference to an ethnic group, is a term that grew out of a very angry period of the sixties and seventies.

In conclusion, the visual black aesthetic is most evident in the work of those artists who portray Afro-American imagery of a specific or universal nature. Works may range from specific personalities or events to world-wide generalities. This aesthetic is also evident in the somewhat militant work of the Blackstreamer artist. Works are charged with shocking black images or symbols confronting a racist or insensitive white culture.

The art works of all Afro-Americans do not exhibit a black aesthetic, as some works are generally culture-free. It should be quite clear that the world has a multilude of great artists; some of them are black. Of that number, some work with the "Visual Black Aesthetic".

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Impediments to the Development of Black Scientists

George Grayson

George Grayson is Associate Professor and Chairman, Department of Biology at Alabama A & M University. His Ph. D. in Cytogenetics was earned at Vanderbilt University, and his experience includes teaching high school general science. Dr. Grayson has authored a bio-learning guide which will soon be available, and he is presently serving as Director of a National Institute of Health Minority Biomedical Research Program. He has several publications, and is actively involved in conducting and supervising biological research.

With few exceptions, Black scientists and their contributions to the development of our American way of life are largely unknown. There are many reasons for this: social, political, psychological, etc., most of which are disguised as biological or even biblical. What I would like to do is briefly discuss some of these reasons and explore the real reasons for their existence.

Let's start by examining the biblical explanation for race as postulated by many. According to these adherents, God placed a curse on Canan, the son of Noah. The curse was that because Canan had laughed at his father's nakedness, all of his children would be born Black. Hence, "Blackness" became associated with "badness". The way the 25th verse of Genesis, Chapter 9 really reads is "And He said, cursed be Canan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren". In spite of this erroneous interpretation, this belief has persisted and been used as holy justification for every known form of inhuman treatment visited upon people of color. This same idea is embodied in the story of the "Good Samaritan", except that Christ used it to show the true nature of the races. Samaritans were a despised people and considered to be half-breeds. Even the city was shunned as a ghetto. This is not amazing, since the people were of dark complexion and their lot in life was not an easy one. Indeed, race and the injustices implied by race are as old as man.

How does this apply to Black scientists and how relevant is it to us today? I would like to quote from a recent political speech by one Jesse L. Thrift, a minor candidate for the office of governor of the sovereign State of Alabama in 1973:

> Communists (Jews) and Blacks have ruined this country.
>
> Our White children are drowning in a sea of Niggers, V.D., and dope.

This man might be excused on the grounds of ignorance, racial prejudice or an overwhelming desire to become governor so badly that he would stoop to any means of achieving that goal. But what about an eminent nobel laureate such as Dr. William Shockley? Admittedly, Dr. Shockley received his Nobel Prize for work in an area not even remotely realted to biology, but this has not diminished the appetite of the "educated" masses for the "garbage" he spouts about the need for a study to prove that Blacks are genetically inferior to Whites.

What we are looking at in the case of Dr. Shockley is basically a scientist making these types of statements without any real scientific evidence to back them up, and surprisingly many Blacks believe this to be true. They don't consider the limitations society has placed on Black people. Jensen's thesis provides much of the basis for Dr. Shockley's suppositions, but it does not consider the effects of pre-natal care on development. What is a fact is that a mother of any color or ethnic background, deprived of nutrients during pregnancy, adversely affects the developing fetus. This is not considered by either "so-called" scientist. Many other examples exist which all of you know of such as:

(1) involuntary sterilizations,

(2) job discrimination,

(3) disproportionate number of Blacks on "death-row", the military, and other highly hazardous situations, and

(4) inequality in education, housing, medical care, etc.

Dr. Frances C. Welsing probably most accurately points out some of the background and myths associated with these problems (Ebony Vol. 29, No. 9, pp. 105-106, 1974). According to Dr. Welsing, there is a genetic link there. Moses, for example, was actually a colored man. He was married to a colored woman. That is argued because people argue, "was Jesus Black or evolved of Black?" I do think that we can look at some tie-ins for people of color around the world. I think you find the same thing regardless where you go if it involves people of color being expressed as Negro. Dr. Welsing's thesis is that it derives not from a inferiority feeling, but really from feelings of inferiority. The awareness is not so much as what is wrong, but what to do to make things different.

Let's look at another aspect of our society which suppresses Black development. We know that, in the past, we have been given the picture that Black families survived by the persistence of the Black woman. In other words, the Black male has been emasculated not only economically, but socially as well. And in this day and time when things have changed a little bit and we just begin to arrive where the Black male can afford to stay put and support a family, the Black woman is saying, 'Hey, I want to be like everybody else.' Is the liberation movement really for Black women, or is it a guise to break up the Black family ?

My basic thesis was not to say that anybody should be deprived of any of their rights, but we (Blacks) deserve a chance to grow up in a family if their is such a thing. If a Black woman decides to deprive the Black male of that at this point simply for the fact that she has rights too, which is the right to work a job even though her husband works a job and might not be necessary for her, this is what I question. Is this a deliberate attempt to do what has already been done; to destroy any semblance of a Black family?

We live in a very materialistic society. We have tried to be like other people for so long and do everything that they do that we don't know who we are. I am saying that attitudes are very important. We can't rationally act with the attitudes that people present about themselves.

There are sterotypes--lower and upper levels of society. That is, we stereotype in terms of likes and dislikes. Consider the idea of emasculation. Then Blacks were pushed into a scene where they were genetically inferior, but physically superior. Now, how do you draw a line between what's physical and what's inherited, because basically it's all inherited.

Why don't more Blacks enter science and make the contributions of which they are capable? The emphasis, for example, is put on athletics not academics. Most of us don't know the difference because we've been misled. The whole point of what I have to say thus far, if you look at the climate in which we have lived up until this point, is that it is absolutely amazing that Blacks ever produced anything, including each other. Regardless as to how one looks at it, economically, socially, politically, biologically or otherwise, people of color have been given short shrift. Yet, Blacks have survived and thrived and made amazing contributions to Science and Engineering. In the second part of this presentation, we will discuss with you some of these Black scientists and their contributions.

Black Scientists Unveiled

Richard A. Evans

Richard A. Evans is Professor and Chairman, Department of Chemistry, Alabama A & M University. He received a Ph. D. from Louisiana State University in Physical Organic Chemistry. Dr. Evans has served as Director of several National Science Foundation projects, and has presented research papers to both state and national chemical societies. He also has had significant experience working with chemical and pharmaceutical companies.

It is good to have a sense of history so as to be able to understand the present. A sense of history is necessary to understand contemporary affairs, attitudes of people, changes which have occurred, etc. Not that we use such historical information to agree or disagree with such attitudes and/or changes but we can at least understand why such attitudes exist or why such changes have come about.

To understand the paucity of blacks in science and engineering one has only to realize that during the early days of this cournty (as in the present), one needed a definite amount of formal training to become a biologist or chemist. This training, as we know from history, was not freely offered to blacks, yet in spite of this, many scientific contributions have been made by black people. During the 18th and 19th centuries, most of the scientific contributions by blacks were from self-styled inventors. When one thinks of black scientists, usually the first name that comes to mind is that of George W. Carver. Carver's great successes were mainly due to the fact that he advocated scientific agricultural changes which were designed to improve farming economy and thereby allow people to make more money, and people are always interested in making more money. There were, however, many other black scientists who fell mainly in the category of being inventors and not research type individuals. Their inventions did contribute significantly to the industrial revolution. The list of scientists presented here is by no means intended to be comprehensive, for there are many others which I am sure that we are aware of. Those presented here did make very significant contributions to the American lifestyle.

Benjamin Banneker was a surveyor, an astronomer, essayist, and mathematician. He was also noted for an almanac which he published, and is most noted for his contribution in laying out the city of Washington, D.C.

James Forten was a sail maker. Forten developed a device which was very useful with the handling of large heavy sails. He set up a sail shop in Pennsylvania which was to become a famous shop of that day.

Jan Ernst Matzeliger, concerned with productivity of shoe manufacturing, perfected a shoe lasting machine which was able to produce at a rate 100 times faster than could be produced by hand.

Norbert Rillieux was born in New Orleans. He had a slave mother and a plantation owner father. He made contributions in the area of sugar refining. He was able to develop a method of refining sugar which was of much purer quality from sugar cane, though he had some difficulty in getting the patent.

Granville T. Woods is probably one of the most prolific of black inventors. He has to his credit 35 to 40 patents. One of the most important of those was a device which was installed on trains. The device allowed the engineer to know how close his train was to another train. thereby decreasing the possibility of accident.

Elija McCoy invented a self oiler for machinery. McCoy perfected the device which became so popular that when the machines were inspected, the inspector would ask does this have the "real McCoy" (this became a part of American terminology). McCoy was a inventor with over 50 patents to his credit.

Andrew Beard began as a farmer. He was a number of things--carpenter, blacksmith, and railroad worker. Beard is noted mainly for his invention of a device to couple railroad cars without having to couple them by hand. This became known as the "Jenny Coupler."

Garrett Morgan is credited with several devices. One of the things was a safety breathing helmet used by firemen. Morgan and his brothers were awarded gold medals by the city of Cleveland when they were able to rescue a number of people trapped underneath a tunnel by using these safety breathing helmets. Morgan is also credited with the development of the automatic traffic signal (stop light).

Lewis Latimer worked with Alexander Graham Bell and Thomas Edison, and was one of the original workers with General Electric. Many of his innovations were incorporated into the electric light bulb. One such innovation was the use of the carbon wire. The first electric lights did not last very long, but when they started using the carbon wire, life of the light was greatly increased.

George Washington Carver is credited with having developed over 300 products from the peanut and over 150 from the sweet potato.

Daniel H. Williams is credited with having performed the first "open heart" surgery. Williams took a knifing victim, working within about a 2" by 2" opening, and sewed up the heart. He had to remove fluid later around the heart. Twenty years later, the patient was known to still be living. Williams also established a hospital which still exists in Chicago. He was committed to improving the conditions which existed in hospitals.

H. C. Webb was an inventor. His invention was one that looked somewhat like a plow and was for clearing away unwanted weeds (palmettos). It was called "The Webb Palmetto Grubbing Machine" and was patented in 1917.

Frederick M. Jones was an inventor. He is credited with designing the first working truck refrigerator units. He also developed a sound system for movies.

Charles H. Turner is noted for his knowledge of ants and bees. In fact, it is said that Turner was able to relate the behavior of these insects to man's behavior.

Madame C. J. Walker's invention was one which allowed black women to straighten their hair in a more efficient manner. She moved from that to various cosmetic products, and is one of the first female American millionaires who made it on her own.

Ernest Just was a biologist, very famous for his study of the structure of the cell. He has written many papers and books.

Louis Wright was a physician and surgeon. Wright originated a method for operating on knee joints. He supervised the first test of a miracle drug (aureomycin) on humans. He also advanced a new theory on the treatment of skull fractures and engaged in early cancer research.

William Hinton, also a physician, studied and developed medicines to fight diseases. Hinton is best known for a test, the Hinton-Davies test, which is used to detect veneral disease.

Percy Julian was a chemist, educated partly in this country and partly in Europe. He developed a method for producing cortisone, used in the treatment of arthritis, very cheaply from animals and the soybean. He also developed a drug which is useful in the treatment of glycoma.

Theodore Lawless was a skin specialist (dermatologist). He also became a millionaire for his remedies of skin diseases.

Charles Buggs was a biologist from Georgia. He did research on why some bacteria do not react to certain medicines. In 1944, he contributed some of the results of his research to the world through twelve studies he helped to write. Three years later, he worte an important article on how to use germ-killing chemicals (antibiotics) to prevent and cure certain diseases.

Charles R. Drew did his dissertation on the "banking of blood". During World War II, Drew was so interested he established a blood bank program.

Meredith Gourdine is an engineer who found a way to make high-voltage electricity from gas. He and other engineers in his company believe there are many uses for this discovery in our everyday life. Some of them are: refridgeration for preserving foods, supplying cheap power for heat and light in homes, burning coal more efficiently, making sea water drinkable by taking the salt out of it, making painting and coating processes easier, and reducing the amount of pollutants in smoke. His company has already made an exhaust purifying device for automobiles, devices for measuring air pollution, and generators for power stations.

J. Ernest Wilkins, Jr. is a mathematician. He created quite a clamor when he finished college at age 17, his Masters degree at age 18, and his Ph. D. from the University of Chicago at age 19. He now owns his own company which is involved in designing functional formulas.

Rufus Stokes developed a device to make breathing easier. Stokes was granted a patent on an air purification device which reduced the gases and ashes in smoke to a non-dangerous and invisible level. This not only helps people, but also improves the health of plants and animals as well as improving the appearance and durability of buildings, cars, and other things exposed to air.

Otis Boykin, an electronic scientist and inventor, devised the control unit used in artificial heart stimulators, invented a variable resistor device used in many guided missiles, and designed small components such as thick-film resistors used in IBM computers.

Vance H. Marchbanks, Jr. designed a gas mask testing device and discovered a method of measuring fatigue in pilots who had been involved in aircraft accidents. Before the first U.S. space shot, he was appointed project head physician and was responsible for determining the effects of space flight on man and for collecting medical information on the astronauts before, during, and after their flight. In the 1960's, as chief of environmental health services with United Aircraft Corporation, he assisted in the design of space suits and monitoring systems for the Apollo moon shot.

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Multicultural Education: Looking Behind the Classroom Door

Cordell Wynn

Cordell Wynn is Professor of Education and Dean, School of Education, Alabama A & M University. He earned the Ed. D. in Curriculum and Supervision from the University of Georgia, and has post doctoral study in Competency-Based Education. Dr. Wynn has diverse and distinguished experience in education, and is highly published through journal articles and monographs. At present, he serves as President of the Southern Council on Teacher Education and the National Advisory Board of NIE, and has recently become a member of the American Association for College Teacher Education's Commission on Multicultural Education.

Before one begins to look behind the classroom door for the substance of education that is multicultural, it is important to explore some of the current definitions of the concept. Let me first quote the definition of multicultural education that I endorse. It appeared under the title of "No One Model American" and was officially adopted in 1972 by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education.

> Multicultural education is education which values cultural pluralism. Multicultural education rejects the view that schools should seek to melt away cultural differences or the view that schools should merely tolerate cultural pluralism. Instead, multicultural education affirms that schools should be oriented toward the cultural enrichment of all children and youth through programs rooted to the preservation and extension of cultural alternatives. Multicultural education recognizes cultural diversity as a fact of life in American society, and it affirms that this cultural diversity is a valuable resource that should be preserved and extended. It affirms that major educational institutions should strive to preserve and enhance cultural pluralism. (AACTE, 1972)

In anticipation of the spectre of confusion that the term "cultural pluralism" would surely raise, the statement's intention is further amplified:

> Cultural pluralism is more than a temporary accomodation to placate racial and ethnic minorities. It is a concept that aims toward a heightened sense of being and wholeness of the entire society based on the unique strengths of each of its parts.

After quickly dispensing with the "melting pot" model of American society in favor of a richly diversified national culture makeup, the authors suggest how the educational process at every level should respond:

> If cultural pluralism is so basic a quality of our culture, it must become an integral part of the educational process at every level. Education for cultural pluralism includes four major thrusts: (1) the teaching of values which support cultural diversity and individual uniqueness; (2) the encouragement of the qualitative expansion of existing ethnic American socio-economic and political life; (3) the support of explorations in alternative and emerging life styles; and (4) the encouragement of multiculturalism; multilingualism, and multidialectism. While schools must insure that all students are assisted in developing their skills to function effectively in society, such a commitment should not imply or permit the denigration of cultural differences. (AACTE, 1972)

The classroom is probably one of the most fertile grounds in America for the implementation of a multiculturally oriented curriculum. In doing so, it appears that the humanities is where the action must be initiated and nutured to full maturity; otherwise we can say a collective prayer and write their obituaries as they join Latin and other obsolescences of the technological age. Why the humanities? The answer to this question demands some preliminary explanations and a definition of terms.

The very language of the AACTE statement puts us squarely on track. Words like "pluralism," "wholeness," and "values" urge classroom teachers on, but the key word is *culture*. My interpretation of culture directs me to look upon it as a comprehensive term for the experiences of a people expressed formally or informally, from day to day, in the form of ritual, ceremony, folklore, mythology, religious belief and observance, in arts and crafts, and even in everyday speech and unconscious body language. Culture, without exception, implies a tacit hierarchy of group values, based upon an assumption about the relationship between God-Man-Nature. In other words, culture is, for those to whom it applies, both reason for existence and the means by which that existence is perpetuated.

The humanities consider the creative and imaginative works of man and are thus concerned with culture in the broadest sense. Each artifact, be it a work of music, a painting, a building, a literary work, or one in wood, stone, concrete or glass, reflects a cultural allegiance and the values of its creator (and, incidentally, one's attitude about human freedom). It appears that it is precisely here that our problems grow with lusty abandon. Humanist G. Jon Roush, in an issue of *Daedalus*, devoted entirely to "The Future of the Humanities," sees the humanist as primarily a teacher and subsequently caught up in the problems of education in general.

> The objective of a humanistic education is competence in the judgment of human creations, with that judgment informed by an awareness of pertinent historical contexts. It is, however, becoming increasingly difficult to achieve that objective for two reasons. First, the problem of obsolescence is impinging on the humanities in some special ways and conventional humanistic pedagogy is not designed to meet the problem. Second, it is likely that our man-made environment is the most significant

> human creation of all time, in that it has the most immediate effect on men's lives and souls, and yet the traditional humanistic education provides little guidance for anyone who would evaluate that complex, changing environment. (Roush, 1969).

The crisis in the humanities signals the curtain down on elitism and the successful imposition of monocultural oppression. As I look behind the classroom door in today's school, it is irresponsible to say that the entire traditional content of the humanities is unworthy of study. The problem centers around selections, deletions, orderings, and commentaries which support this elite, self-conscious class in its illusions of superiority. A further look reveals that nearly all educational institutions, regardless of the cultural background of their constituency, clearly reflect this unfortunate bias.

Failing to give serious examination to the pluralistic richness of the whole, the humanities have taken a back seat to practicality. With science and technology in the driver's seat, and fueled by the forces of propaganda, we are headed in all directions. This movement is resulting in a state of myriad fragmentation and ultimate conflict: youth against and better than age, teenagers regarded as hostile bums, old people a burden, present against the past, blacks versus browns versus reds versus whites, city beats country, plastic outlasts and replaces wood, and on and on goes the shattered litany of progress. And in all of this, who realized that the tragic import is that the locus of control is shifting slowly from ourselves?

A present look behind the classroom door indicates that little is being done to enhance the understanding of ethnic and cultural differences which is the underlying principle of multicultural education. No bulldozing rhetoric will do the job that needs to be done to foster and reinforce the fact we are a pluralistic society which broadly depicts a unique mosaic of cultures. Recognition needs to be given to the fact that these colorful differences are blended, interrelated and linked through a permeating way of life contributed to and shared by all Americans, yet giving accommodation to its contributory cultures.

If the implications of multicultural approach for the classroom are to be realized, it is necessary to look at what we as practitioners need. Most of us will require training that will help us prepare for teaching a multicultural curriculum. There are several ways one can begin, but I would like to suggest the following three steps as a possibility for a fresh approach.

First, we must look at self. Respect for others is difficult to accomplish if there is no respect for self. It is only after an appreciation for and understanding of one's own culture have been attained that it is possible to expand and learn of the culture of others.

Second, we must develop a rationale and/or philosophy that is supportive of and is consistent with multiculturalism. We, as practitioners, need to very strongly believe in what we are doing. Once we have successfully moved through Steps One and Two, then and then only are we ready to implement a multicultural curriculum.

The final step has implications for both practitioner and child. For the practitioner, it will mean that perceptions of children are no longer biased, and children are approached in a more objective manner. This does not mean that all children are treated alike, but rather that children are treated as individuals and their individual differences become strengths on which to build a multicultural curriculum. Teacher behavior becomes more appropriate and meaningful for both teacher and child. At this point, teaching techniques and strategies are more appropriate for all children. Instructional materials are designed and selected with care and sensitivity. The classroom takes on a new and different character, a character that fosters diversity. Children, too, will perceive each other differently and behavior will be more humane; cognitive learning will reflect new and relevant information.

As we turn our attention to the classroom, it may be helpful to keep the following consideratins in mind. First, we must teach the United States experience. Teaching units or subject matter that focus on world cultures can expose children to much that is exciting and interesting. However, to teach only about the cultures of other countries eliminates the opportunity for children to learn about the cultures in this country. If a linkage between a United States culture and a world culture can be established, then multicultural education is operating. International education is not multicultural education, but it can provide a foundation for learning about culture from a global perspective.

Integrating ethnic and cultural content throughout the entire curiculum provides another consideration. To teach separate units or themes about ethnic or cultural groups tends to create a separatist approach. Differences should be incorporated within the total picture. Ethnic content and culturally relevant material should be presented whereever and whenever appropriate, and can be integrated into all facets of the curriculum.

Consideration should be given to the ethnic and cultural base of the school environment as well as that of each child. Multicultural education for black children will need to come from a black perspective; in this situation, diversity can be presented effectively if it builds on the ethnic and cultural experiences of black children. The same is true for other groups of children. Concern and attention for the cultural foundations of the group being taught is crucial.

We should keep in mind that multicultural edcuation is equally important for the non-minority child as for the minoirity child. All children need to be taught to value differences before we study ethnicity. Establishing positive responses to the concepts inherent in diversity during the early years of school will enable children to better understand ethnic and cultural contributions in the later years of schooling.

We have a responsibility to prepare children to live productively and successfully in the United States as well as in the world. In so doing, we not only need to teach children how to read and write, but how to live and function with others. I believe this can best be accomplished through multicultural education.

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Curriculum Material for the Teaching of Black American Ethnic Heritage

Earnest Dees

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Ethnic Studies are not simply a possible adjustment and/or adjunct to the curriculum. Thye can be an important, probably the most important, link between and among people. To quote Dr. Michael J. Bakalis, Superintendent of Public Instruction, State of Illinois, "Ethnic Studies in the classroom can reveal the truth to young people about themselves and others whose origins, customs, and values may differ from their own. Ethnic Studies in America are designed to motivate the student to want to know more about ethnic groups--his or her own and others. With such knowledge will come a broader understanding of, and answer to, the question: why "they" can't be like us? Answer: Because we are all part of "us".

The time has come for this country to celebrate the diversity that characterizes it in which some three hundred thousand American Indians were joined by numerous people from every continent and country on this planet. Some came seeking freedom from want or oppression; some were brought here in chains as slaves. The time of arrival was equally varied, stretching over a period of three hundred years. The outstanding feature of the country even then was diversity. It is time for our schools to recognize this pluralism as a source of past, present, and future richness and creativity rather than of possible division and conflict.

Recognition of America's diversity has not always been the case in our nation's history. Pressures toward conformity and fears of whatever was strange and different underlie a long and dreadful record of suppression of native and immigrant cultures by the dominant society. In this unfortunate process, much that could have been learned from a whole universe of diverse cultures has been lost.

Presently, there is new effort to "validate" or recognize the full range of ethnic groups and cultures which have contriubted to our country's life and development. Yet, even today in some communities this effort runs counter to persisting discrimination, racism, and suppression of native American and immigrant cultures.

Our schools are a primary agency of our nation's culture. They are being urged to develop a more pluralistic attitude with respect to the diversity that children bring to our classrooms. However, many teachers are themselves the products of an education and a society that have refused to accept any variation from the predominant Anglo-American norms. Teachers, as well as those who are preparing to teach, are now being asked to "shift gears", to adjust to a new kind of world view and national view.

The reality of the situation is that many persons have, until the present, viewed our society as a monocultural (or unicultural), and this perspective has created insensitivity to the many cultures which have built our nation and have so much still to offer. As a result, the contributions of many minorities have been excluded from most of our histories and textbooks. Cultural differences have been deemphasized in the name of "Narrow Nationalism." As a result, there is an absence in our schools of an understanding of cultural pluralism, and there is an inadequate supply of materials for use by teachers and students alike to build that understanding.

It is not difficult to convince American teachers that pluralism rather than uniformity represents social reality in this country, although some teachers meet homogeneous classrooms in ethnic or racial enclaves in our cities. Yet, teachers who are aware of the diversity of our population now seek elements which were omitted from their own education at all levels--specific information about America's pluralism, and professional skills and materials to move toward education that is truly multicultural.

At this point, let us survey some of the materials available, print and non-print, to support classroom exploration of ethnic heritage: cassette tapes, films, books, and teaching aids.

General Works

Ethnic Studies:
  Banks, James A. - Teaching Ethnic Studies Concepts and Strategies
  Banks, James A. - Teaching Strategies in Ethnic Studies
  Gordon, Milton G. - Assimulation in American Life
  Rose, Peter I. - They and We, Racial and Ethnic Relations in the U.S.

Afro-American Studies:

Bennett, J. - Before the Mayflower
DuBois, William Edward - The Negro in the Making of America
Franklin, John H. - From Slavery to Freedom
McPherson, James - Blacks in America

Additional general information is available in periodical form. Attention is drawn to the following conventional library resources:

Educational Research
Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature
The Educational Index
The Social Sciences Index
Dissertation Abstracts
A Resource Guide - The Emerging Minorities in America

Cassettes Developed by the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life

Cassettes No.	Title	Cost
S77-3	Black Social Work	6.00
S77-4	Comparative Slavery	6.00
S77-5	Public Policy and Social Change	6.00
S77-6	Unity of Struggle	6.00
S77-7	The Black Library	6.00
S77-8	Black Women: 1880-1920	6.00
S77-9	Black Music--Development and Personalities	6.00
S77-10	Local Studies--Counties and Towns	6.00
S77-11	African Personalities and Development	6.00
D77-2	Black Biography--Unforgettable Figures (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-3	Audio-Visual Concepts and Materials (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-4	Growing Old, Black (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-5	Black Scientists (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-6	Black Women in Slavery and Reconstruction (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-7	Reconstruction in the South, Va. and La., 1865-1877 (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-8	Emigrationism and Black Americans (2 cassettes)	12.00

Cassettes No.	Title	Cost
D77-9	Contemporary Black-Jewish Relations in America	12.00
D77-10	Research Dollars for the Black Scholar: An Update (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-11	Racial Transitions in Black Higher Education (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-12	Blacks in Law and Medicine (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-13	Black Rhetoric and Oratory (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-14	Black Reconstruction in a Border State (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-15	Schools and Civil Rights (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-16	Wm. Leo Hansberry: Pioneer Africanist/Historian (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-17	Undergraduate and Graduate Student Research (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-18	W. E. B. DuBois: the Intellectual and His Writings (2 cassettes)	12.00
S77-15	Historian's General Session	6.00
S77-16	The Struggle for Civil Rights	6.00
S77-17	Slavery and Abolition	6.00
S77-18	Black Art and Literature	6.00
S77-19	Black Business	6.00
S77-20	Blacks in the West	6.00
S77-21	Black Music	6.00
S77-22	The Black Family-I	6.00
S77-23	Reconstruction in the South	6.00
S77-24	The Black Press	6.00
S77-25	Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.	6.00
S77-26	Black Leadership	6.00
S77-27	W. E. B. DuBois Memorial Roundtable	6.00
S77-28	Economic Conditions of Blacks: Depression and New Deal	6.00
S77-29	Affirmative Action/Reverse Discrimination in Higher Learning	6.00
S77-30	Afro-American Writers/Themes and Book Publishing in America	6.00
D77-19	Black Labor (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-20	Local Studies--Southern Cities (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-21	Black Political Participation in America-an Assessment (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-23	Black Personalities in Social Welfare and Development (2 cassettes)	12.00

Cassettes No.	Title	Cost
D77-24	Afro-American History in the Public Schools (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-25	Black Genealogy (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-26	Schools for Freedmen (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-27	Recent Black Biographies (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-28	Blacks and the YMCA (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-29	The Black Experience through Photography (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-30	Indigenous Movements (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-31	Black Education and Status Attainment (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-32	Desegregation in Higher Education (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-33	The Black Family-II (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-34	Slavery and Reconstruction (2 cassettes)	12.00
D77-35	Blacks and Publishing (2 cassettes)	12.00

Books on the Study of Afro-American Life and History[1]

A Documentary History of Slavery in North America by Willie Lee Rose, The Johns Hopkins University

"Fills an important gap in the literature; a major contribution, in a unique way, to our understanding of North American slavery."--George P. Rawick, University of Missouri, St. Louis

"Exceptional primary source anthology...An unusually broad array of sources...that succeed in illuminating private experience and social relationships...An uncommonly penetrating glimpse into the 'interior' of slave life."--Library Journal 1976 Cloth--$19.95 paper-$7.00

Blacking Up--The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth-Century America by Robert C. Toll

"An excellent history and interpretation of the dominant entertainment form of the nineteenth century...A book full of insights for the student of American music, popular culture, and race relations."--Journal of American History 1974 paper-$3.95

The White Man's Burden by Winthrop D. Jordan, University of California, Berkeley. Historical Origins of Racism in the United States

Derived from Jordan's critically acclaimed, monumental work, White

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[1] Published by the Oxford University Press, 200 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016

Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro 1550-1812, White Man's Burden is a comprehensive, absorbing, and unbiased account of bias.

"White Over Black was..praised as the definitive work on the history of American racism before 1812...The new book [is] doubly welcome."--New York Review of Books 1974 paper-$2.50

Booker T. Washington--The Making of a Black Leader, 1856-1901 by Louis R. Harlan, University of Maryland

"Harlan's style is easy and readable, his knowledge of the subject profound, his research seemingly exhaustive...Booker T. Washington clearly deserves to be called definitive."--Journal of Southern History

1972 paper-$3.95

The Slave Community--Plantation Life in the Ante-Bellum South by John W. Blassingame, Yale University

"A sensitive and balanced analysis of slave culture and slave personality...This is an immensely exciting, subtle and readable book which will mark a new direction in studies of black history..."--David Brion Davis, Yale University

"The most important discussion of American slavery since Elkins. Thoughtful, original and sophisticated. Blassingame's challenging analysis will influence historical scholarship for years to come."--August Meier 1972 cloth-$10.95

The Strange Career of Jim Crow--Third Revised Edition by C. Vann Woodward, Yale University

Historian David Donald described the first edition of The Strange Career of Jim Crow as "a landmark in the history of American race relations." In this third edition, C. Vann Woodward offers new material on the shattering events that have taken place since 1965, and identifies black leaders who have come into prominence since then.

1974 paper-$2.50

Reckoning With Slavery--Critical Essays in the Quantitative History of American Negro Slavery by Paul A. David; Herbert G. Gutman; Richard Sutch; Peter Temin; Gavin Writht; Introduction by Kenneth M. Stampp

"A devastating critique of Fogel and Engerman's Time On the Cross--long overdue. A fine compilation of critical essays...Required reading for students of slavery."--John Andrew, Franklin and Marshall College

1976 cloth-$15.00 paper-$4.50

Harlem Renaissance--by Nathan Irvin Huggins, Columbia University

"Brilliant...provocative...The first full-scale treatment of the period.."
-George E. Kent in the New York Times Book Review

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"The book is likely to become widely discussed by historians while serving as a valuable essay on the topic for the general reader."--Neil Thorburn, History

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1976 $31.25

Books on Blacks in the New World[2]

Black Over White--Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina during Reconstruction. Thomas Holt. A study of a political revolution in the making and an examination of who the "revolutionaries" were and what happened to them. $10.00

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Dittmer's analysis of the early twentieth century in Georgia examines the intransigence of white attitudes toward blacks, and focuses on the black response to continuing economic exploitation, deprivation, and oppression.

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Abolitionism--The Brazilian Antislavery Struggle by Joaquim Nabuco.

Translated and edited by Robert Conrad. The publication of O Abolicianismo triggered a renewed and unexpected surge of antislavery activity in Brazil that culminated in the sudden ending of slavery in 1888. This is the first English translation of that work.

Recent and Forthcoming Original Titles in Black Studies[3]

Revisiting Blassingame's book, "The Slave Community": The Scholars Respond by Al-Tony Gilmore. (Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, No. 37). $15.95

[2] Published by University of Illinois Press Urbana, IL 61801

[3] Published by Greenwood Press, Inc. 51 Riverside Avenue, Westport, CT 06880

John Blassingame's book, The Slave Community, raised important questions about black history, and the historical methods best suited for studying it. In this collection, historians like Eugene Genovese, John Henrik Clarke, Stanley Engerman, Leslie Owens, and George Rawick offer critical essays on Blassingame's work. An essay by Blassingame's himself will respond to these critiques.

The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography, Supplementary Series by George P. Rawick. (Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, No. 35).
LC 91-38591. ISBN 0-8371-9756-2 RAA/ $325.00
(Available Winter 1977-78).

A New Birth of Freedom: The Republican Party and Freedmen's Rights, 1861 to 1866 by Herman Belz. (Contributions in American History, No. 52).

New Rulers in the Ghetto: The Community Development Corporation and Urban Poverty by Harry Edward Berndt. (Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, No. 28).
LC 76-47888. ISBN 0-8371-8902-0 BEO/ $16.95

The Black Family in the United States: A Selected Bibliography of Annotated Books, Articles, and Dissertations on Black Families in America by Lenwood G. Davis.
LC 77-89109. ISBN 0-8371-9399-0 DBF/ Price to be set
(Available Winter 1977-78).

In the Almost Promised Land: American Jews and Blacks, 1915-1935, by Hasia R. Diner. (Contributions in American History, No. 59).
LC 76-46767. ISBN 0-9371-9400-8 DIA/ $17.50

American Socialism and Black Americans: From the Age of Jackson to World War II, by Philip S. Foner. (Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, No. 33).
LC 77-071858. ISBN 0-8371-9545-4 FAS/ $22.95
(Available Winter 1977-78).

Red Over Black: Slavery among the Cherokee Indians, by R. Halliburton, Jr. (Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, No. 27).
LC 76-15329. ISBN 0-8371-9034-7 HAR/ $15.95

Africans and Seminoles: From Removal to Emancipation, by Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr. (Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, No. 32).
LC 77 86. ISBN 0-8371-9529-2 LAS/ $15.95

A Right to the Land: Essays on the Freedmen's Community, by Edward Magdol. (Contributions in American History, No. 61).
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Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association, by Tony Martin. (Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, No. 19).
LC 75-16968. ISBN 0-8371-8280-8 MMG/ $17.50

Black Ethos: Northern Urban Negro Life and Thought, 1890-1930, by David Gordon Nelson. (Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, No. 29).
LC 76-47169 ISBN 0-8371-9402-4 NBE/ $14.95

Blacks in the West, by W. Sherman Savage. (Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, No. 23).
LC 75-44657. ISBN 0-8371-8775-3 SBW/ $14.95

Henry Highland Garnet: A Voice of Black Radicalism in the Nineteenth Century, by Joel Schor.
LC 76-8746. ISBN 0-8371-8937-3 SHG/ $15.95

Anti-Apartheid: Transnational Conflict and Western Policy in the Liberation of South Africa, by George W. Shepherd; Jr. (Studies in Human Rights, No. 3).
LC 77-71868. ISBN 0-8371-9537-3 SHG/ $15.95

Black Academic Libraries and Research Collections: A Historical Survey, by Jessie Carney Smith. (Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, No. 34).
LC 77-71857. ISBN 0-8371-9546-2

Travail and Triumph: Black Life and Culture in the South since the Civil War, by Arnold H. Taylor. (Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, No. 26).
LC 76-5264. ISBN 0-837-8912-8 TTT/ $15.95

Selected Films on Intercultural Relations

Bill Cosby on Prejudice

Summary: Features Bill Cosby expressing just about every prejudice ever thought or spoken by a bigot, leaving no minority group out. Leads to an honest examination of attitudes.

The Bill of Rights in Action: Defacto Segregation 22 min.

Summary: Presents the great difficulties of the integration of a school system when a city has segregated neighborhoods. Shows the cleavage that develop in a community over a school busing plan. Explains that these differences of opinion have to do with cost and the integrity of the neighborhood school as well as with integration.

The Bill of Rights in Action: Equal Opportunity 22 min.

Summary: Uses an incident in which a black factory worker is promoted over a white employee with seniority as a basis for reviewing the constitutional issues involved in establishing policies of equal employment opportunities.

The Bill of Rights in Action: The Right to Privacy 23 min.

Summary: Demonstrates the complexity of the concept of privacy. Shows court interpretations and various procedures in attaining a warrant for bugging devices.

Black Anger 30 min.

Summary: Features a group of Black and Spanish Americans speaking of their successes and failures, hopes and disappointments in the hopelessness generated by the ghetto.

Color of Justice 26 min.

Summary: Explores Black Americans' struggle for Civil Rights in the courts. Documents important judicial decisions such as the Dred Scott Case, Plessy vs. Furguson, the 1970 Court Order to integrate the schools of Lamar, S. C. Focuses on Thurgood Marshall, the first black man to become a justice of the Supreme Court, whose victories in the courts laid the foundation for the emerging Civil Rights Movement.

Minorities: What's a Minority 13 1/2 min.

Summary: Members of various groups frankly discuss their reactions to prejudice, presenting an overall perspective on the problems of different racial, religious and ethnic groups living together.

Minorities: Patterns of Change 14 min.

Summary: Depicts the conditions of minority groups today, comparing these conditions to those of the past, and speculating about what these conditions might be in the future.

Run from Race 29 min.

Summary: Negroes in Philadelphia - a minister, a professor, a real estate salesman and a housewife discuss their life and problems in a negro community. Shows a city planner defending Philadelphia's redevelopment plans and presents the criticism of a white sociologist.

What about Prejudice? 12 min.

Summary: Examines the damage done by a group to a classmate because of prejudice and shows the individual's emotional response when the truth is learned.

Black History: Lost, Stolen or Strayed--BFA Educational Media, Santa Monica, Calif.

Eye of the Storm

Black and White Uptight--BFA Educational Media, Santa Monica, Calif.

The Friendly Game--Mass Media Associates, Inc., St. Louis, Missouri

Black Thumb

Just Like Me

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Curricular Materials Evaluation in Multicultural Education

Richard S. Hickey

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Curricular materials evaluation is essential to the successful implementation of the many facets of multicultural education. The concepts of multicultural education must be translated from general statements of definition, i.e. "...a humanistic concept based on the strength of diversity, human rights, social justice and alternative life choices..." (ASCD, 1977), to specific educational objectives.

If an educational program is to attain its specified multicultural education objectives, the enabling or facilitating materials and methods must be educationally sequenced and must reflect the program's objectives. To assure that educational materials are reflective of multicultural education objectives, evaluation of the material is necessary. Accordingly, the greater the degree of specificity of a program's objectives, the easier the task of materials evaluation. Conversely, the lesser the degree of specificity of a program's objectives, the more complex the evaluation process.

The need for educational programs to include minority group and cultural representation (ASCD, 1977; Yoshimo, 1978; AACTE, 1973) and the need for objectives-based systematic program evaluation (Metfessel & Micheal, 1967) are well established educational concepts. The problem facing educators, especially classroom teachers, is that many multicultural education curricular goal statements are very general in composition and thus are, by their very nature, immeasurable. Therefore, it is essential that educators involved in the curriculum development process design specific measurable education-oriented objectives.

The process of evaluating curricular materals for multicultural educational purposes may follow either a formal systematic evaluation format based on the curriculum's specified objectives, or a quasi-informal expeditious evaluation format based on a combination of traditional and multicultural curricular concerns. The selection of an appropriate evaluation format is determined by the significance of the resultant decision.

The formal systematic evaluation format assumes that the specified multicultural education objectives are predicated upon the needs of the students, community, and society. Accordingly, the formal systematic evaluation format utilizes the curriculum's specified multicultural education objectives as comparative criteria for a formative evaluation of the curricular material prior to its curricular inclusion (Scriven, 19670). This approach enables the evaluator to determine the curricular and multicultural education appropriateness of any instructional material in terms of the curricular program's desired outcomes.

In the context of the UCLA Center for the Study of Evaluation Model for curriculum evaluation, the formal systematic evaluation format is reflective of the "Program Planning" stage. During this stage:

> "The CSE Model provides information regarding the sorts of instructional programs that meet the needs identified during the needs-assessment stage. For example, an evaluator engaged in this activity might appraise the degree to which the purported objectives of commercially developed instructional materials meshed with the objectives derived from the previously conducted needs assessment. The decision focus of program planning, therefore, is program selection" (Popham, 1975).

From an historical viewpoint, the lack of minority-oriented objectives has denied evaluative consideration of minority representation, and thereby handicapped the evaluation of curricular materials. When confronted with the problem of operating in a curriculum based upon non-specific goal statements and lacking specific multicultural education objectives, administrators, teachers and curriculum personnel, in conjunction with input from students and the community, should design a quasi-informal expeditious evaluation format for the evaluation of all curricular material under consideration for adoption. The first component of criteria for the evaluation of the materials would consist of the traditional curricular concerns. The following is a non-sequenced listing of some of these curricular concerns:

(1) Is the material relevent to the subject matter?

(2) Can the material be integrated and sequenced effectively into the existing program?

(3) Is the material presented in such a fashion as to be viewed as interesting and understandable by the recipient students?

(4) Is the material on the child's functional reading and cognate levels?

(5) Are the material's objectives clearly and specifically stated?

(6) Is the material affordable and durable?

(7) Does the material require additional equipment or materials?

(8) Has the material successfully been field tested with a compatible student population.

Of all the listed concerns, the most difficult to resolve is the readability level (concern # 4) of curricular materials. Yet, this decision is an extremely crucial aspect of the success or failure of any school program. In many academic subjects (Science, Social Studies, Language Arts, etc.), children are expected to use textbooks and programmed instruction materials which are above their reading level. This educationally unproductive practice occurs as a result of teacher and administrator ignorance of the precise reading level of the curricular materials. A simple approach which could be used to determine the readability level of curricular materials was presented by Dr. Edward Fry in his article, "A Readability Formula That Saves Time" (1968). The appraoch, commonly referred to as the "Fry Readability Graph,", provides a simple yet effective means of determining the readability level of a book through a comparative analysis of the number of sentences per 100 words and the number of syllables per 100 words. To use Fry's Readability Graph (see 1968 article), the evaluator would randomly pick a minimum of three passages, each containing 100 words, excluding all proper nouns. Subsequent to the selection of the passages, the evaluator plots on the graph the average number of sentences and syllables per 100 words. Additionally, since many textbook chapters vary in readability levels, the evaluator should carefully check as many chapters as possible.

The second major component of criteria for the quasi-informal evaluation of curricular materials stems from a multicultural basis. In the past, minority groups and their respective cultural similarities and uniquenesses have been systematically excluded from or derogated in the curricular materials used in the American educational process. The exclusionary or derogating practices, whether intentional or unintentional, were detrimental to development of both minority and non-minority students. The self-concept of a student can be seriously damaged when he consistently sees his culture and race or ethnic group portrayed in a negative manner or totally excluded from his instructional material. Non-minority students, exposed to the negative portrayal or exclusion of minority cultures, develop misconceptions and negative stereotypes of minority groups.

Educational awareness of the need for the positive inclusion of minority groups and cultures into curricular materials is reflected in the concept of multicultural education. The concept of multicultural education was defined by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE) Commission on Multicultural Education in 1973 as:

> ". . . education which values cultural pluralism. Multicultural education rejects the view that schools should seek to melt away cultural differences or the view that schools should merely tolerate cultural pluralism. Instead,

> multicultural education...affirms that this cultural diversity is a valuable resource that should be preserved and extended. It affirms that major education institutions should strive to preserve and enhance cultural pluralism."

In addition to defining the concept of multicultural education, AACTE (1973) presented four major thrusts for cultural pluralism:

> "(1) the teaching of values which support cultural diversity and individual uniqueness;
> (2) the encouragement of the qualitative expansion of existing ethnic cultures and their incorporation into the mainstream of American socioeconomic and political life;
> (3) the support of explorations in alternative and emerging life styles; and
> (4) the encouragement of multiculturalism, multilingualism, and multidialectism. While schools must insure that all students are assisted in developing their skills to function effectively in society, such a commitment should not imply or permit the denigration of cultural differences."

The evaluation question to be answered does not center on the decision whether or not to include minorities and minority cultures in the curricular materials (textbooks, instructional materials, etc.), but rather the quantity and quality of minority group and cultural inclusion. The AACTE definition of multicultural education and its four major thrusts for cultural pluralism may serve as an operational basis for the development of criteria used in the selection of curricular materials. From this basis, a variety of informal measurement procedures and instruments can be developed. An example of an informal procedure would be to analyze curricular materials by using the simple checklist shown in the following.

MINORITY INCLUSION CHECKLIST

	YES	NO	
1.	____	____	Does the material include minority groups?
2.	____	____	Does the material include a variety of minority groups?
3.	____	____	Is there a significant representation of minorities in the materials?
4.	____	____	Is a variety of minority group cultural experiences included in the material?
5.	____	____	Does the material show pictures or illustrations of minority group members?
6.	____	____	Are minority group members in key roles in a reasonable number of the pictures?
7.	____	____	Are minority group members and cultures portrayed in a demeaning or negative manner?
8.	____	____	Are minority group members and cultures in positive central roles in a reasonable amount of the material?
9.	____	____	Are minority group members portrayed in positive supportive roles in the material?
10.	____	____	Are minority group members portrayed in active roles in the material?
11.	____	____	Are minority group members portrayed as being on a variety of types of employment?
12.	____	____	Are adult minority group members portrayed in a variety of types of employment?
13.	____	____	Are members of one group or culture always portrayed in positive superior roles?

The checklist was desinged to identify possible inclusion of a bias against minority groups and/or cultures. In the above checklist, all of the items should be answered "yes" except items number seven (7) and thirteen (13), which should be marked "no." The checklist questions, excluding items number seven (7) and thirteen (13), are structured to assist the evaluator in determining if minority groups and cultures are not only included in the material but are portrayed in a variety of positive roles and situations. If any of the responses to the questions differ from the desired responses, the evaluator should recommend that the material be rejected. Item number seven (7) is important, for it is structured to remind the evaluator to check for the portraying of groups or cultures in negative or demeaning roles. Item number thirteen (13) is designed to remind the evaluator to check the material for biases which might consistently portray one group as being superior, thus creating the illusion that other groups must be inferior. The affirmation of the concept of multicultural education in curricular materials is determined by the positive portrayal of equality and worth of all persons, groups, and cultures. The need for the child to view his own culture as well as the cultures of others in different roles, settings, and situations is an important aspect of multicultural education.

Another consideration of great significance to both the formal systematic evaluation format and the quasi-informal expeditions format is the potential incorporation into the curricular materials of a bias or so-called "hidden message." The author may, based on his own conscious or subconscious biases, intentionally or unintentionally incorporate the bias into the curricular materials. Such an incorporation may be achieved by the inclusion of materials, pictures, or facts specifically slanted towards the author's bias. Examples of this method of inclusion would be the consistent portrayal of members of one group or culture in a negative role or to point out historical events or information in which the group is shown in a negative light. Another technique which has been used consistently against minority groups is the exclusion method. In this approach, the author merely does not include any positive information about minority group or culture (i.e., historical contributions) and limits reference or completely excludes references to the minority group, its culture, and group members.

Summarily, multicultural education is an intrinsic part of a balanced curriculum and, therefore, must be incorporated in the curriculum's instructional materials. Accordingly, there is an imperative need to evaluate curricular materials to insure that multicultural education is included in a representative quantity and high degree of quality. If the evaluation need is to be consistently and effectively met, evaluative procedures and instruments will not be sufficient. The effective implementation of multicultural education requires teachers, administrators, and curriculum specialists to be dedicated and trained in the concept of multicultural education. Evaluative procedures and instruments, in themselves, are no better then the people who use them.

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Educational Systems: Are They Open to Change?

Fletcher Seldon

Fletcher Seldon, a veteran of 30 years service in the military, is a member of the executive staff of Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville. His work history includes employment as an urban planner and systems consultant. Mr. Seldon served 5 years as President of the Huntsville City School Board, and is currently Vice President.

Changes can be made in education. Indeed, historically, education has continually changed, though perhaps not as rapidly and openly as we might wish. The very survival of any viable system depends on its responsiveness to "the winds of change."

Education was first known as a form of science in the year 400, beginning in the churches. There was no such thing as non-secular learning. All that was learning had to do with the Bible: the religion and theology of that day. Unfortunately for progress, though, education was not for the common man until around the year 1000. At the same time in the African culture, especially in the Sudan area, there was a form of education going on related to language and writing. Many of the artifacts found point this out. So, there is a parallel there which I will maintain. In 1000 A. D., Martin Luther started a Reformation in education. He encouraged the government officials at that time to make education available for all people, with the philosophy that every child had a right to education. He was helped by John Calvin, who was the great theologian in Switzerland. Calvin felt education was necessary to teach the common man to understand the scriptures, and he was concerned with the religious, spiritual aspect. On the Catholic side, the nations stayed in line with the Calvinistic doctrine, relating to education, of their religion.

From this point, we can move to England, as she was the first country to establish a type of education system near the type we have today. England was the first to have Boards of Education and something near to what we call a public school. In 1642, in the Massachusetts Colony, the colonists passed a law that every child would learn religious percepts. In 1647, they passed another law which said that each township with at least 50 households would provide a teacher for all its citizens to learn the three "Rs". So, here we see education getting away from religion and moving towards a combination of secular and non-secular teaching. In 1897, when our constitution was passed, we find no mention of education.

But, let's look at what was happening in the Africian continent at the time. The people there were undergoing slavery even though there was an ongoing education program. The education was mainly being performed by missionary-type people. This was being done while slavery, even slavery within the country, was in full swing. We see two different worlds having strong ties to education appeals.

Thomas Jefferson, Ben Franklin, and Horace Mann were the main proponents of education in America during this period, but education was for only white students. Black slaves were being taught by the church, as only the churches were interested in teaching the Negro. This was done so Negroes could supposedly take their place in society. The Quaker people still exhibit the same feelings which cross all ethnic lines.

During Reconstruction, there was a blossoming of education in the South. Mississippi spent more money in one year in education than any other state. This was done on a seperate but equal basis. Black people like P. B. S. Pinchbeck and others, said "we do not want to join you people, but we want to get the same thing that you get". This was reinforced by the Court in the 1896 Plessy vs. Ferguson case.

Brown vs. Topeka in 1954 reversed this decision. During the interim period, we had what was supposed to be seperate but equal education in our schools. We continued to publicly finance schools during this period. This evolved form the Massachusetts Colony. Education is the only creature of our government which was started at the demand of the poeple. Education was not forced on the people, but rather, the people forced education. Unfortunately, most of the South felt that free education was a form of charity and not acceptable. Only those who had money could be educated in the South. Therefore, we not only had a split of education between the races, but also between different socioeconomic levels. So, for a long period of time, only those who were of the monied element in the South were able to receive an education. This was after Reconstruction. The economic growth of that area was certainly slower than other areas at that period, and public money was considered a form of charity. This situation and attitude did not help the progress of education, and today, many parts of the South still suffer the consequences.

At this point, let's look at modern education. A 1977 study made of 17 year olds showed that thirty six percent of them could not complete job application forms. Fifty four percent could not identify the training skills necessary for service. We've done very well at teaching, but not at educating. The American College Program Assessment found that there is a significant need for an increase in careful guidance and counseling services. Over 75% of secondary school students going to college are enrolled in preparatory courses in public schools. But, we find that only 4% graduate from college.

Will Rasberry, who writes for the Washington Post, wrote an article entitled, "Kids Who Don't Know How Little They Know." Some of the things he pointed out about educational planning and attitudes of students were:

(1) most students expressed the need for meaningful, relevant jobs (no one bothered to tell them about the real world),
(2) twenty percent of the graduates of junior colleges were women who went back to school to become nurses, technicians, etc.,
(3) most students can say they completed 12 years of school by merely showing up,
(4) we promise students a diploma if they will only stick around long enough, and
(5) what eventually happens is that the students find out that they have been "had," not by society, but by us.

We have a tendency to make school easy to keep students there with the norm.

Now, let's look at some of the issues in education from where I sit as a member of the Board of Education. I think that children want and need a certain amount of discipline. We also need parents in the schools. I remember 5 or 6 years ago when I first came on the Board, administration did not want parents in the school because they would come in and "mess up". Now things are slowly changing. I like to think that children of all races like to see adult strangers walk into their school who they think might be a parent. Kids like to see adults. It is the kind of openness which makes the school do a better job.

Education was supposed to bring about change, though its record is poor. Social and environmental changes can not be denied. We must decide whether education is going to lead or follow change. We've become so massive as a system that it takes 10 years to respond to something that happened today. We can't gear up. We got away from application. We are not teaching our students how to apply learning in a practical sense. We teach processes but not application. Children cannot assess their problems, and yet, education too often refuses to assess, acknowledge, or respond to them. We taught, but did not educate. These are the immediate challenges for educational systems. The writing is on the wall, and both administrators and educators alike must respond. Are we to simply paint over them, or will education, as a system, deal with the issues?

Viewpoints in Human Relations

Cordell Wynn

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Human relations has almost as many definitions as there are situations in which it operates. To many individuals, it has the connotation of race relations, and that is indeed a part of human relations. Human relations has been defined as the broad area of group interacting with and within group: of individual interacting with individuals. The writer feels that a more specific definition would be that good human relations includes treating the other fellow the way you like to be treated even though he may differ from you in religion, race, national origin, or social class; or involves making the most of yourself and helping your neighbor to make the most of himself.

As the writer reviewed the literature related to human relations, it was most interesting to note the discussion that Kimball Wiles fostered as to the way in which the supervisor should look at the topic:

> A supervisor should exhibit a belief in the worth of all individuals, respect for the wishes and feelings of others, the will to see that all live and work in harmony, plus skill in working with individuals and groups in such a way that these ends are promoted.

F. J. Roethlisberger stressed a different point in his definition:

"Human relations" is thus at its present stage of development as

> the practice of a skill by which one learns to relate himself to his social surroundings. It is the way Tom, Dick, and Harry learn about themselves and their relations to each other in the first instance and how they improve this understanding in the second instance.

He further states that,

> Human relations skill in particular is the capacity of a person to communicate his feelings and ideas to others, to receive such communications from others, and respond to their feelings and ideas in such a fashion as to promote congenial participation in a common task.

A third point of view is presented by Leander L. Boykin:

> "Human relations" is a way of behaving, or acting or not acting toward human beings in terms of the ideals and value patterns of our democratic society; a way of responding to social situations, and to the individuals and groups which produce these situations; the unity of interacting personalities bound together in an organized relationship in which the characteristic mode of social interaction is determined not by racial or ethnic difference, interfaith conflicts, socio-economics disparities, and cultural and educational factors, but by respect for individual personality, and the dignity and worth of human beings.

These three definitions cover much of the area commonly covered by those working in the field up to the present available literature.

This writer wishes to project his personal view of human relations, based on his experience as a present and past supervisor, which differs somewhat from all three of the aforementioned writers. Good human relations in supervision are built upon a firm foundation of mutual respect, good will, and faith in the dignity and worth of human beings as individual personalities. The writer feels that it is further necessary for the supervisor to develop skills in relating himself and others to the social situation in which they are placed. These skills are integral parts of the behavior of the supervisor and may be developed and improved by an understanding of the content of human relations and by constant practice.

The literature reveals that by the mid-1930's the reaction to scientific management, supported in part by the Western Electric studies, dealt a crushing blow to the economically motivated model of man. Attention was focused on human relations processes, on new ways of influencing personnel toward change, or on new solutions to the age-old problem of man versus organizations.

About 1935, the results of the work done by Mayo, Roethlisberger, and their associates became prominent. Mayo, working with others at the Hawthorne Plant of the Western Electric Company, devised a series of experiments the results of which seemed seriously to contradict the tenets and principles of the Scientific Management theorists. Mayo concluded that production output was closely related to the social satisfaction of the individual worker. A further conclusion seemed to be that the major problems of management are found in the realm of human relations rather than in technical processes. Employees, it was claimed, had to be viewed as individuals with psychological drives and social needs rather than simply as mass appendages to an industrial machine.

The new stress on the human element in industry caused the Mayo approach to be known as the Human Relationist School. The major assumption was that man could be motivated to more productive work by helping him fulfill his social and psychological needs rather than by simply furnishing him adequate pay.

The origins of laboratory training are traced generally to Kurt Lewin's experimental work in group dynamics; specifically, to a conference of community leaders called in 1946 by the Connecticut Interracial Commission. The conference was an experiment in new ways of teaching individual and group skills that enable people to live and work together productively. Half by accident and half by plan, its staff and participants discovered the learning potential of an initially unstructured group, in which the content for learning is the processes by which members build a group that can work together, where each member learns about his own behavior and the behavior of the other members. The "T-group" was born and was destined to become an important element in laboratory education. People who had been operating in the dark about the impact of their behavior found in the T-group a way to learn how they came across, or, to put it more formally, to see the consequences of their modes of relating and communicating.

The group of scientists who worked with Lewin organized the NTL Institute in 1947 as the focal agency of their work. The Institute was under the auspices of the NEA's Adult Education Service and was originally named the National Training Laboratory in Group Development. It became the National Training Laboratories, a Division of the National Education Association, in 1962. In 1967, it became an independent, nonprofit corporation associated with the NEA. The expanding group of scientists, most of them located at universities across the country, became known as the "NTL Network." Today, NTL Institute is one of many organizations providing services based on laboratory method, and the several hundred scientists associated directly with NTL represent only a fraction of those offering such services.

Over the past 20 years, laboratory training has moved from a major emphasis on programs for individuals, generally strangers to each other, to a major emphasis on team training or "in-house" programs designed for entire faculties or staff groups. Organizational development has come to be the term describing programs whose target for change is the organization of the system and whose goal is to develop internal resources for continuing development.

In another direction, programs designated by terms like personal growth, human potential, self-discovery have also multiplied. Though benefits to the organization may spill over through released potential and freer access to personal resources, the contract in such programs is with the individual, not the organization.

Dorothy Miel says:

> "...thus, there have been many applications and many spin-offs of laboratory training, but a number of the directions were set at the beginning: the assumption that learning is an experience-based matter, that optimal learning results when there is a blend of knowing, feeling, acting, and valuing; the emphasis on here-and-now behavior, but also on attempting to understand it in the light of knowledge with practice; the invention of experimental designs for learning; and a continuing preoccupation with what one needs to learn in order to manage change

effectively. . . "

The current focus on sensitivity training has grown out of increasing recognition that much of the work people do - the time spent in committees, in classes, in staff conferences - is unproductive because of human impediments to open communication and collaboration. The writer feels that anyone who questions the reality of this problem might reflect for a few minutes on his own experience during the past 48 hours.

Richard Schmuck and Philip Runkel of the Center for the Advancement of the Study of Educational Administration in Oregon suggest in "Organizational Training for a School Faculty," that two strategies are available when customary educational practices become inadequate to cope with massive changes in the community. One is to invent or adapt models that may respond more readily to new demands--the community school, for example. The other is to improve the organizational problem-solving capability of existing schools. Either strategy, according to the authors, can be effective. Each demands that the people involved develop skills in teamwork, in utilization of resources, and in communication within the school and the community. Schmuck and others have demonstrated that strong use of laboratory training methods to increase problem-solving capability can lead to changes if facilitated by new norms that sanction new modes of behavior.

In other cases, at the present time, "state-up" training programs for the entire staff of a new school have helped anticipate or prevent customary problems. In South Brunswick, New Jersey, James Kimple, Superintendent, Fred Nadler, principal of an experimental middle school, and Robert Chasnoff, a professor at Newark State College and NTL trainer and consultant, describe such an approach in reports to the U. S. Office of Education under a Title III project. Here, laboratory methods were used in an extensive organizational development effort that began with the faculty of the new school and spread throughout the system.

In the Oregon program, the design included analysis of ongoing group processes of the faculty, practice of new modes of behavior before actually using them in daily work, and the use of the school as its own laboratory for learning and change. Groups were used in ways very different from the classical T-group. According to the authors:

> "Personal development was not our target. We did not attempt to improve the interpersonal functioning of individual directly; when this occurred, it was incidental. Our targets were the faculty as a whole and several subgroups in it. We sought to increase the effectiveness of groups as task-oriented entities. We tried to teach subgroups within the school and the faculty as a whole to function more effectively as working bodies carrying out specific tasks in particular job settings."

In 1978, laboratory training is regarded as a powerful invention. Its apparent relevance to the solution of human relationship problems in a wide range of settings has led to increasing demand for it by many school systems throughout the nation.

During the early 1970's, public education discovered the emotions. Cognitive learning and skill training, the traditional components of education, no longer satisfied the needs of a generation that had experienced the civil rights revolt, the widening generation gap, and the increasing confusion of teachers, administrators, and school board members about ends and means in education. The result was a growing interest in various approaches to affective learning that assigns to the emotional factor in education a role as important as-or, perhaps, more important than-the traditional substantive content and skills. Among these approaches, as previously mentioned, the most enthusiastically embraced has been the so-called sensitivity training.

The literature reveals that the term is used loosely to include a wide range of laboratory training approaches in human relations, group dynamics, organizational development (or, as I prefer, applied human relations training), as well as a number of verbal and nonverbal experiences that seek to increase awareness and release human potential. It is an unfortunate term because of its vagueness, but it appears that its very impreciseness and beguiling simplicity are the qualities that have helped it gain wide currency.

By whatever name it is known, human relations training is capable, if properly employed, of producing substantial educational change. It holds tremendous potential for improving education by dealing with its affective components, reducing the unnecessary friction between generations, and creating a revolution in instruction by helping teachers to learn how to use the classroom group for learning purposes.

Max Birnbaum alludes to the pity that this promising innovation may be killed before its unique properties have a fair chance to demonstrate their growth and worth. The opposition to its serious exploration is strong and is apt to grow. But it is not those who oppose sensitivity training because of it smacks of therapy, which to a very small degree it does, nor even the members of the renascent John Birch Society, who would equate it with brainwashing, who pose the major challenge. Rather, according to the literature, the most serious threat to sensitivity training comes first from its enthusiastic but frequently unsophisticated school supporters, and second from a host of newly hatched trainers, long on enthusiasm or entreprenurial expertise, but short on professional experience, skill, and wisdom.

Recognition of the power of the T-group (training group), as well as its limitations, has led to wide experimentation with other applications. Laboratory sessions of varying length and widely differing objectives have been developed, ranging from a single day or weekend to two or three weeks, and having as their purpose varying kinds of individual and organizational change. Much of the confusion in the field stems from the lack of clearly defined purposes and guidelines that indicate the kind of training session most effective in achieving a particular objective. Most specifically, confusion results from the failure to differentiate between those training experiences that are designed to improve an individual's capacity to work effectively as a manager or member of a group for educational or re-educational purposes, and those that are designed to stimulate the indiviudal's personal growth and so are clearly in a domain that might be labeled paratherapy, in the sense that it is paralleled to therapy, rather than therapy itself. Therefore, it is necessary to look at the varying kinds of training that are becoming popular today to see what purposes each is best designed to serve.

Organizational development is a general term that includes a variety of approaches that combine affective and intellectual components in the use of small groups as a medium for consultation, problem solving, and re-education of individuals in both public and private organizations. It developed primarily out of the earlier, sociologically oriented focus of the T-group that emphasized organizational change rather than personal development.

Encounter groups, confrontation sessions, and marathon labs are usually short-term, most often twenty-four-hour or weekend experiences, where the emphasis is on the direct exposure of beliefs and feelings that usually are not put on public display by individuals. The term "encounter group" derives from the phrase "basic encounter group" that Carl Rogers, the noted exponent of non-directive counseling, coined to differentiate a new kind of experience from the traditional T-group. The objective is to stimulate an exchange that is inhibited by a minimum of reserve and defensiveness in order to achieve a maximum of openness and honesty. Marathons differ from encounter groups primarily in the unremitting intensity of the experience that seeks to achieve a significant breakthrough in normal defenses and so attain what many practitioners believe is a new level of open behavior. Confrontation sessions are usually contrived racial encounters in which militant blacks literally "confront" members of the white community (teachers, police, industrial management, and so forth) with their angry reaction to white racism, discrimination, and prejudice. The theoretical basis for this type of experience is that the social conditions requiring this form of learning demand a maximum dose of aggression and hostility in order to convince the targets (whites) of the seriousness of the personal situation.

Nonverbal exercises have invaded the training field with a vengeance in recent years. The techniques employed are numerous and range from simple exercises with a minimum of body contact to physically intimate and emotionally revealing designs of the kind most often associated with Esalen and its derivatives. The literature suggests that the explorations of Esalen, on the West Coast, are making major contributions to the field of therapy, but it is less clear how the techniques derive their theoretical justification from theories of personality.

Each of these varied approaches to sensitivity training is designed to serve specific purposes. Each can be immensely beneficial to certain individuals--and provide little help, or have negative results, for others. It appears that the most important thing is to make clear the purpose to be achieved and the kind of training best designed to serve that purpose.

The literature does not reveal any significant changes in the present thrust to improve human relations training. However, it is believed that the present direction or appraoches will be greatly intensified as we look at current developments:

1. There is a need for school personnel to "hang loose" during these revolutionary changes in teacher-student relationships so that both they and their students can survive. Human relations training can make it easier.

2. Human relations training should begin to equip teachers with a new teaching technology that is based on a learning group of peers, in contrast to the traditional classroom with the teacher as an authority figure and the students as a group of charges.

3. In an era of increasing tension and alienation, both teachers and supervisors must develop more fully the qualities of empathy and human objectivity--the essential hallmarks of the helping professions. Training in human relations can lead to open and sympathetic understanding of students and their problems without becoming personally involved with adolescent "hangups."

4. Training in the affective area can help to reduce attitudinal blocks and group resistance to needed educational change brought on by integration and other pressures.

5. The need to develop a higher sensitivity to human relations and a higher tolerance for ambiguity and to explore the relationship between racial conflict and institutional change.

Finally, let me note some major implications, needs, and directions for human relations efforts, especially in education.

1. Researching for successful programs in integroup education and analyzing, disseminating and implementing outcomes for utilization in the school system.

2. Planning and organizing programs that will exert leadership directed toward a collaborative approach in the area of deciding how teachers should be supervised--thereby improving the quality of staff performance.

3. Designing in-service and staff development programs to help individuals to develop the ability of accepting others and judging them on their merits as individual human beings.

4. Evaluating and taking the lead in the development of multi-ethnic approaches to curricular improvement.

5. Designing and implementing programs and activities to help people to overcome myths, supersitions, and sterotypes about the races, young, old, new, established, male and female attitudes, and behaviors of blacks and other minority groups in society.

6. Developing in teachers and the promotion with students of a multicultural perspective which emphasizes the position that cultural and other differences make people uniquely important as individuals rather than the viewpoint that sees these differences as a reflection of inherent inferiority or superiority by mediating, monitoring, and responding.

7. Coordinating activities that will lead toward the fostering of group cohesion, higher group morale, and staff perception of administrative and supervisory tasks.

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Human Relations Fundamentals

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Human relations is, to a large extent, "common sense" principles that tend to become "not-so-common" in our hectic pace of life or life styles (Stull, 1976). We must do a better job of interacting with our fellow man than we have traditionally done. On occasion, we have intereacted with our fellow man in ways that didn't promote good feelings or a wholesome attitude among our constituents.

Self-concept is a vital ingredient in human relations. One must think well of himself before he can possibly think highly of others (Tilher, 1975). In developing a positive self-concept, self-awareness and self-understanding are vital components. Is your self-concept similar to the concept others have of you? Each of us is a product of our interactions with others. In our society, practically no one lives in a vacuum. We are influenced daily by these interactions with others. However, simultaneously we have the same effect on others with whom we associate and interact. A more positive self-concept is developed by positive interpersonal relationships with these significant others. Similarily, others develop a more positive self-concept from positive interpersonal realtionships when appropriate human relations skills are utilized. Communication is a vital ingredient in this development (Daly, 1972).

Communication takes place in many ways. Our behaviors are interpreted by the people around us and they have a definite effect on human relations. Approximately two-thirds of all human communication is of non-verbal behavior consistent with our verbal nature. We must strive to make our non-verbal behavior consistent with our verbal behavior. You can say one thing verbally and exhibit something most contradictory with your non-verbal behavior.

What are some typical non-verbal messages in human relations? Proximity or how close we stand or sit to the other person in various situations is one type of non-verbal message. Movement, posture, facial expressions, and handshakes are others. Our mode of dress is another. Be especially congruent with your verbal and non-verbal behaviors.

Our relationship is of utmost importance. Frequently, upon entering a relationship, we keep our defenses up and exercise caution. Interpersonal relationships can be improved by not raising the other person's defenses. We have a tendency to become defensive with an anticipated threat to our egos. As our defensiveness rises, we behave and communicate in a manner so as to protect ourselves. This precipitates distorted messages and less than authentic behavior. Oftentimes, defensiveness is contagious, and both interactants become involved in defensive behavior. Defensive listening distorts incoming messages. These defenses diminish as trust is developed. As trust develops, people become more open and the relationship continues to develop. Openness is built on trust. Conversely, trust is built on openness. One cannot or will not develop without the other.

Genuineness is of utmost importance in the development of the relationship (Carkhuff & Berenson, 1967; Carkhuff, 1969a; Carkhuff, 1969b). A distincition has been made between how one says what he says and how much of one's own personality he reveals through his statement. This distinction appears to reflect one's true feelings. In short, the base for openness and trust is the establishment of a genuine relationship between people.

Receptiveness is important in developing this openness. Be receptive and/or tolerant of other people's point of view. Also, develop a habit of providing feedback. Feedback is what keeps the relationship going. Being receptive to comments from others is vital if we are to improve human relations. Simultaneously, feedback from others is oftentimes just what we need to improve ourselves. Even negative feedback, on occasion, is better than no feedback at all.

Before we can provide this feedback, we must first listen. Accurate feedback is impossible if we have not first received the other person's message. Neither can you receive feedback if you don't listen and observe.

The degree to which we can be honest with ourselves and with others establishes this base.

Respect or positive regard is of great importance in the relationship. The respect one has for himself is a critical factor in the amount of respect one has for others. One cannot respect others if he does not first respect himself. This respect is frequently communicated through warmth and understanding. Frequently, when warmth and understanding are exhibited, this respect alleviates barriers of isolation and establishes a basis for empathy.

"Empathy", according to Carkhuff (1969a), is "the key ingredient of helping" or developing this relationship. Empahty is simply seeing things as the other person sees them. "Putting oneself in the shoes of another" and "seeing through the eyes of another" are ways of describing empathy (Carkhuff, 1969a). Virtually no one can refrain from making evaluations or judgments about others, but it is important that we refrain from acting on these judgments (Gazda, 1973).

When a person perceives he is being evaluated, he becomes defensive. When one shows approval or disapproval of another's behavior, either verbally or non-verbally, evaluation is taking place. A very safe approach to not sounding evaluative (and being more descriptive) is to paraphrase what the other has said--that is repeat it in your own words (Duff, 1976). After hearing the other person tell you about something, begin your feedback with, "I hear you saying....," or something with equal description. Caution must be exercised, however. If the feedback appears insecure or if your nonverbal feedback doesn't coincide with the verbal feedback, practically anyone will observe this inconsistency. Empathy is not the client-centered mode of reflection with which it is so often confused (Carkhuff & Berenson, 1977). Empathy brings about the base for concreteness.

Concreteness is perhaps the final characteristic which is so vital in the establishment of the relationship. Concreteness is simply specificity of expression or the expression of specific feelings and experiences, regardless of their emotional content by both pesons within the relationship. Concreteness allows us to avoid misunderstanding among persons within the relationship by attending to the specific points under discussion.

Shirts (1969) has developed a unique tool called "Starpower" which serves as a vehicle to assist in improving human relations. Starpower is a low mobility game utilizing a three-tiered society very similar to real life. This three-tiered society is built through the distribution of wealth. Wealth is accumulated by trading and bargaining. Initially, a trading period is utilized to determine who fits into which of the three tiers. The hierarchy is designated by shapes: circles, squares, and triangles.

As the game progresses, it becomes very evident the squares are in power or control. Before the game concludes, they are allowed to set the rules of the game. Here, it becomes very similar to real life. In today's society, the policy makers probably do not pay nearly as high percentage of income tax, property tax, and etc. as does the middle class or working class people.

The circles could be equated to the American middle class. As stated previously, as the game progresses, the circles are required to follow rules set up by the power structure (squares). This can be very similar to our everyday society. In our society, the middle-class has very little to say about policy and procedures, yet they pay a large portion of the taxes and provide a large portion of the services. They give of themselves more than any other group, yet they do not receive anywhere near as large a proportion of returns as do the other groups.

The triangles are very similar to the poor in our society. They contribute little to the upkeep of society and are powerless and/or helpless. They take whatever is given to them and eke out a meager existence. They live under the rules and regulations which are set up by the power structure (squares) as do the middle-class (circles). The triangles probably experience many of the frustrations and pressures historically experienced by members of minority groups within our society.

In this game, the middle-class (circles) and the lower-class (triangles) typically feel the rules which have been set up by the upper-class (squares) as being unfair. Again, this is very similar to real life. In real life, the middle and lower class people frequently feel the rules prevail against them, yet, they are not in a position oftentimes to change the rules.

In playing Starpower, revolt eventually prevails. Again, as in real life, a crisis must be imminent before much change prevails in our everyday way of life. Starpower is an ideal tool for use in ethnic and/or socioeconomic desensitization.

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